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International: International Vocabulary of Archives, Centre for Preservation of Cultural Property, Rome, UNESCO Mobile Microfilm Unit, Conference on Classification for Information Retrieval—*United Kingdom*: Committee on Departmental Records, Public Record Office, London, Records Administration Division, Historical Manuscripts Commission, British Records Association, Anglo-American Conference of

Historians, Society of Indexers, British Museum—*United States of America:* National Archives and Records Service, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, National Historical Publication Commission, Library of Congress—*Italy*—*Ceylon*—*Photoduplication and Microcopying*—Microfilm Camera, Portable Microfilm Reader 85

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PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARIES: A NEW FEATURE OF THE ARCHIVAL SYSTEM OF THE UNITED STATES

On July 6, 1957, the Harry S. Truman Library at Independence, Missouri was dedicated and became a part of the archival system of the United States. Carved in stone at the right of the main entrance to this splendid structure appear these words:

> This Library will belong to the people of the United States. My papers will be the property of the people and be accessible to them. And this is as it should be. The papers of the Presidents are among the most valuable sources of material for history. They ought to be preserved and they ought to be used. Harry S. Truman.

In placing this inscription on the building erected through the generosity of his friends and associates and given to the Government as a depository to house his papers and other historical materials, President Truman was not unmindful of the fact that the papers of Presidents had not always been thus preserved and made available to the people as a part of the archives of the Nation.

For 166 years there was no systematic provision made for the preservation of papers of the Presidents. Consequently many were lost, dispersed, or destroyed. Others were preserved, often by mere happenstance, and some, although preserved virtually intact, were long not available for research use. Yet almost from the birth of the Republic it was recognized that Presidential papers formed a vitally important and valuable part of the historical and cultural heritage of the American people. Why then, were they not systematically preserved from the outset as a part of the Nation's archives? The answer lies chiefly in the nature of the Presidential office itself.

In the United States, the office of the President, like the offices of members of the Congress and the Supreme Court, is a constitutional office having a separate and independent status in the governmental system. Every President since George

Washington has considered that this separate and independent status extends to and embraces the papers of the incumbent of the office. Thus, as is the case with the papers of the individual members of the Congress, the papers of the Presidents have always been considered their personal property, both during and after their incumbency. This principle has the sanction of law and custom and has never been authoritatively challenged.

And so it happened that the Presidents from Washington on took their papers with them when they left office. When Presidents died in office, their heirs or executors took over their papers. The history of the fate of the papers of each of the Presidents—the damage they suffered through loss, mutilation, and dispersion before finally coming to rest in the public depositories where most of what remains are now to be found—is too long for inclusion in this paper. The details—all of them not entirely creditable either to the Nation or to the heirs of the Presidents—are summarized, however, in an article by Buford Rowland in the July 1950 issue of the *American Archivist*. But it should be noted here that the Congress, recognizing that the Government and the people had a vital interest in Presidential papers, appropriated considerable sums of money during the early 19th century to purchase the paper of Presidents Washington, Jefferson, Madison and Monroe from their heirs. These papers eventually were deposited in the Library of Congress which, since 1903, has acquired by gift and purchase substantial quantities of the papers of 19 Presidents from Van Buren to Coolidge.

Up to a generation ago it was usually physically possible for a President to pack up his papers and take them home with him at the end of his period of office. Though the papers tended to increase in volume, taking care of them privately was still within the range of possibility. The papers of Abraham Lincoln, for example, even when individually mounted and bound as they now are in the Library of Congress, comprised only 194 volumes for the whole period 1833-65.

In the last 25 or 30 years, however, a radically new factor has been introduced into this situation—a sudden and tremendous increase in the rate of creation of Presidential papers, resulting in the swift accumulation in the White House office of bodies of files so enormous that no private person can undertake to give proper care and housing to the collection. For example, President Hoover's papers filled a substantial portion of the available space in the Hoover Library at Stanford

University in California; the papers of Franklin D. Roosevelt occupied some 500 five-drawer file cabinets; and those of President Truman were only slightly less in volume. And, besides such vast quantities of papers, recent Presidents have accumulated thousands of printed items—a library in effect—and countless gifts and mementos, many of which are of great cultural and commemorative value.

It is no accident, therefore, that Presidents Hoover, Roosevelt, and Truman established libraries to care for their papers, books, and mementos. They really had no choice in the matter, for the problems that confronted them with respect to the housing of their holdings was one of an entirely different order of magnitude than those with which earlier Presidents had to deal. Not only was the day past when a President or his family could even contemplate taking charge of and caring for the papers and other historical materials until such time as they felt ready to place them in a public institution—there was no existing public institution equipped to keep the collections intact and administer them as an integrated body of source materials essential to the understanding of the President and the period in which he lived.

As indicated above, President Hoover placed his papers, books, and mementos in the library which bears his name at Stanford University where, although they do not belong to the Government, they are carefully preserved. In time they will be freely accessible for research. It was President Roosevelt, however, who broke fully with tradition and proposed, during his lifetime, to give his papers, books, and mementos to the Government. In 1939 the Congress by joint resolution established the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library at Hyde Park, New York, and placed it under the administration of the Archivist of the United States. Thus the Roosevelt materials, together with a library building erected through the generosity of his friends and associates, were given to the Government and became a part of the national archives system. The Roosevelt Library has more than lived up to the highest expectations of those who were responsible for its establishment. Today the Roosevelt papers and those of his associates and contemporaries held by the Library constitute one of the richest and most heavily used collections of manuscript source materials in existence relating to the history of the United States for the period 1933-45.

The legislation establishing the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library applied to that institution only. When President Truman

indicated that he proposed to follow the Roosevelt precedent with respect to his papers, books, and mementos, the need for general legislation establishing a system for preserving Presidential papers became more apparent than ever. Recognizing this need, the Congress passed, with bipartisan support and without dissenting vote, the Presidential Libraries Act of 1955.

In passing the Presidential Libraries Act, the Congress, in effect, subscribed to the principle that, although Presidential papers are the property of the Presidents, they constitute a class of property that is affected with the public interest; that they are as important in character as if they were, in fact, Federal archives; and that the Federal Government has a special responsibility and interest in seeing them properly preserved, protected, and, under proper policies, made available for research. It therefore sought in the new legislation to provide a system for preserving Presidential papers which, at one and the same time, respects the constitutional rights of the President; serves his convenience with respect to the disposition and use of his papers; permits his friends and associates to erect a building in his honour to house them; satisfies the interests of the Government; and meets the requirements of scholars.

The Presidential Libraries Act authorizes the Administrator of General Services, who heads the administration of which the National Archives and Records Service is a part, to accept for and in the name of the United States:

> "Any land, building, and equipment offered as a gift to the United States for the purposes of creating a Presidential archival depository, and to take title to such land, buildings and equipment on behalf of the United States, and to maintain, operate, and protect them . . . . as part of the national archives system."

It further authorizes him to accept for deposit therein:

> "the papers and other historical materials of any President or former President of the United States, or of any official or former official of the Government, and other papers relating to and contemporary with any President or former President of the United States, subject to restrictions agreeable to the Administrator as to their use."

It also authorizes him to deposit in any Presidential Library "any Federal records appropriate for preservation therein" and in addition, to accept:

> "gifts or bequests of money or other property for the purposes of maintaining, operating, protecting, or improving

any Presidential depository [and to] charge and collect reasonable fees for the privilege of visiting and viewing any exhibit rooms or museum space in any such Presidential archival depository."

Finally, it authorizes him to provide "reasonable office space in any Presidential archival depository for the personal use of any President or former President of the United States."

It will be noted that the Act does not require a President to give his papers to the Government. The decision as to their disposition still rests, as it always has, with the President. But now he can plan for their disposition with the knowledge that the Government has made legal provision to receive them in the archives of the Republic. The Act offers him a method of disposing of them in the public interest. It assures him that they will be preserved intact in a place of his own choosing and conveniently accessible to him; that they will be kept in official custody, properly arranged and described, and preserved under the supervision of professional archivists; that their integrity as evidence of his administration will not be impaired; that the confidential character some of them have will, so long as necessary, be respected; and that in due course and under proper policies all of them will be made available to the people for research use.

Thus far no President has asked the Congres to appropriate money for the purchase of lands on which to build a Presidential Library or for constructing and equipping such a building. The existing libraries were made possible through the generosity of the friends and associates of Presidents Roosevelt and Truman, and the Eisenhower Foundation is now raising funds for a proposed Eisenhower Library at Abilene, Kansas. Certainly a President's friends and associates could erect no better memorial—no more lasting tribute—to him than a Presidential Library. The Act wisely permits the Government to take advantage of the memorial interest of these friends and associates and enables it to acquire at no cost to the Nation's taxpayers not only the Presidential papers themselves but also the expensive facilities and equipment to house them.

But Presidential Libraries are not mere memorials to individual Presidents. Rather, they are designed to serve as important cultural centres, as living institutions dedicated to research and to the preservation in professional hands of the documentary and related sources of important segments of the

Nation's history. They benefit citizens in all parts of the country. They establish important collections of manuscript sources outside the Nation's capital, thereby giving local scholars easier access to them and stimulating interest in American history and government. They enable scholars to get a well-rounded understanding of the Presidents and their times by making available in specialized institutions located in the communities where the Presidents spent their formative years, not only the papers of Presidents, but also the books they read and collected, the recordings of their speeches, the motion and still pictures of the events in which they participated, the materials they assembled in pursuit of their hobbies, and the gifts they received. They attract donations of papers from many important associates and contemporaries of Presidents, thereby enhancing the research value of the Presidential materials and, at the same time, creating collections of manuscript materials relating to clearly defined periods of American history. Indeed, this concentration of research materials enables each Presidential Library to build up and hold a professional staff especially trained in the history of a particular period and thus to become of more than ordinary usefulness to scholars and writers working in that period. And finally, Presidential Libraries contribute importantly to the educational and cultural development of the general public through the maintenance of modern museum and exhibit rooms which are visited annually by hundreds of thousands of Americans, young and old.

The administration of Presidential Libraries by the National Archives and Records Service of the General Services Administration ensures effective continuity, common planning, and useful interrelationships between them and the national archives system as a whole. It brings to the preservation, classification, and arrangement of Presidential and related papers all of the technical and professional experience accumulated by the National Archives since its establishment in 1934. It makes certain the opening up of a large proportion of a President's papers for research use under proper policies within a relatively short time after the close of his administration. And it enables scholars at one library to have easy access to materials in another library and to importantly related Government records in the National Archives and in the several Federal Records Centres through microfilming and correspondence.

WAYNE C. GROVER

ORGANIZING ARCHIVES IN BULGARIA

Until a few years ago there was no central organization to collect archives in Bulgaria. Attempts to do so were made more than once in the eighty years since the liberation of Bulgaria from Turkish oppression in 1878, but they bore no fruit. The National Library in Sofia played the part of state archives, and was bound by law to take in and preserve all state, public and private archives. Archives were also collected by the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, the Holy Synod, the provincial libraries, library clubs, museums and certain cultural institutes.

Naturally there could be no question of up-to-date organization of archives in Bulgaria under these circumstances. It was limited to collecting materials for archives, and arranging them in a certain order with a view to their being used by a limited circle of scholars and scientists. In the period under discussion more was done to publish archive materials, chiefly the private papers of famous men of the 19th century renaissance in the country, and papers concerning the national revolutionary struggles of the Bulgarian people.

The country's general advance along the road of socialistic pattern of life in the past ten years has given an impetus to the collection and preservation of archives. The question of centralizing this work came to the fore once again. At the time, Bulgaria had no trained staff of archive workers, but there were people who thoroughly grasped the importance of documentary material for historical research, and the necessity of a special institute which would take over the entire care of such papers and documents. After studying the experience of foreign countries for several years, with the collaboration of men who had worked in this field up to then—professors and cultural workers—mainly from among the circles of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and the State Library in Sofia, the work of the central organization in collecting archives of the country was begun in 1951. A decree issued by the Presidium of the National Assembly founded the State Archives. This includes "all documentary materials of political, scientific and practical importance, no matter of what period, origin, content, technique and manner of reproduction they may be". The systematic accumulation of documentary material from state and public institutions and from private persons forms the sum total of archives in Bulgaria.

By virtue of this decree the newly-formed State Archives is under the Head Office of Archives at the Ministry of the Interior. This Head Office was later turned into a Department of State Archives at the same Ministry. The decree provides for the setting up of central, urban and district archives in Sofia, and one office of Archives in each district centre of the country. By virtue of the decree three State Archives Offices have been functioning in the country for the last six years—the Central State Historical Archives (CSHA), the Central State Archives of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Sofia Urban District State Archives (SUDSA). They have at their disposal a special staff of scientific and technical collaborators. There are also 12 District State Archives in the country, whose task is to collect, preserve, and catalogue the documentary materials in the districts and prepare them for scientific and practical reference.

The decree founding the State Archives provides for the complete centralization of the work on archives. This puts an end to the scattered nature of the work hitherto, the incompetent and arbitrary collecting and preserving of archives on the part of different institutions (libraries, museums, library clubs, monasteries, etc.). The only exception made is for the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, the decree stating expressly: "The documentary materials of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, concerning the activity of the Academy and its members, are to be handed over to the Academy". In 1947 an Archives Section was formed at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, which was turned into an Institute of Archives in 1949. Up to the setting up of the State Archives, this Institute collected all kinds of documentary materials for the history of the Bulgarian people. The publication of the decree limited its scope and today, alongside with its scientific work, it collects and scientifically studies only the collections of archives of the Academy Institutes, members of the Academy and the former Bulgarian Society of Letters (which became the Academy of Sciences in 1911).

The Party archives, now at the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, do not enter this united collection of archives.

The decree publishes lists in detail of all the state and public offices and organs, as well as private persons, who have collected documentary materials, and which constitute the archival wealth of the State Archives.

The newly organized State Archives has launched a planned and systematic drive for unearthing, collecting and preserving of all state, public and private archives.

Their second main task is to find suitable places for housing the materials collected and to secure the conditions necessary for preserving them. Steps are now being taken to construct special archives buildings which will meet the requirements of modern preservation techniques.

In a period of five years (1952-56) over 2,300 collections of archives have been accessioned. This number is constantly growing. To serve scientific and practical ends, the material collected has to be studied and made accessible for research. Certain achievements in this field may be stressed. The *Bulletin of State Archives* published in 1957, records that 25 per cent of all the archives collected have been scientifically and technically studied, and can be used for research work.

Together with this activity, the State Archives gives methodological guidance to all the offices, enterprises and organizations in the country. These are preliminary measures to prepare the documentary materials before they are put away in the State Archives. In 1952, *Model Regulations* were published on the basis of which the offices, enterprises and organisations issued their own regulations with definite indications and tasks, according to local conditions. These *Regulations* indicate the manner of selecting materials of value from current papers, and when and how to hand them over to the State Archives, as well as the order to be observed in destroying unnecessary papers.

To further the end of improving organisation in the office archives, and giving them assistance in their work, the Department of State Archives at the Ministry of the Interior published in 1950 an *Instruction on Organizing and Examining the Archives of Offices, Organizations and Enterprises.* Special lists of documentary materials in current papers were also prepared.

For the training of archive cadres, a new faculty of Archives was instituted at the State University of Sofia in 1952.

Today, as in the past, several archival publications are issued. The Department of State Archives at the Ministry of the Interior publishes its own organ, *Bulletin of the State Archives.* The purpose of this *Bulletin* is " to assist scientific workers—historians, economists, linguists, scholars as well as cultural and public workers, writers, journalists, propagandists and so on, in their scientific and practical work ". Articles in the field of the theory and practice of archives administration are published in this *Bulletin*. It also includes individual

documents and articles which are of assistance to Archive Institutes in organizing the work with documents and achieving similarity of methods.

In the same year the Central State Historical Archives in Sofia published a guide on how to work with the materials prepared so far. These editions were preceded by Vol. 1 of the *Bulletin of the Institute of Archives* at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, in which materials taken from the archives of the Academy were chiefly published.

The fact that Bulgaria was invited officially to the Congress of Archives in Florence in 1956, as well as to the celebration of the 2nd centenary of the foundation of the State Archives in Budapest, gives hope that this country will soon be able to take its place in the international circle of archivists.

PETER MIATEV

RECORDS RELATING TO INDIA IN SYDNEY, NEW SOUTH WALES

Since the establishment of the Penal Colony of New South Wales in 1788, there has always been a connection between the British Antipodes and India, though, admittedly, the connection has often been slight. In the earliest days of the British settlement in Australia, India figures only as a cause of considerable trouble and bickering between the early colonists and the authorities in London, for in the first years of Australia's existence as a British possession, the matter of the monopoly of the Honourable East India Company created difficulties. Almost the first signs of independent action on the part of free colonists in Australia was their commencing of a trade with Indian ports, using small ships to bring back the vital necessity, food, to the struggling and at times famine-stricken colony at Port Jackson. Even this slight infringement on the monopoly of the Honourable Company, commenced as it was to save the Colony from extinction, stirred up the anger of the powerful Board in London, which jealously regarded its monopolistic privileges.

In a slightly later era, the now more firmly established Colony was ruled by governors with some experience of Indian conditions and by the 1830s and 1840s the question of migration of Indian labourers was a contentious one in the Colony.

The city of Sydney is not rich in deposits of historical material relating to India but the activities related above have caused the accumulation of some material in the Archives of New South Wales and in other repositories in the State. At present, the Archives of the State of New South Wales are considered as a department of the Public Library of New South Wales, and the Mitchell Library, another branch of the Public Library, contains some interesting material relating to India. The letter-books of early governors contain references to the matter of Indian trade and to the prohibitions against migration into India of ex-convicts from the Australian Penal Colony.* Governor King's letter-book for the year 1797-1806 contains a copy of an interesting letter from Governor King to Joseph Foveaux, Acting Lieutenant Governor, dated 14 November 1801, concerning the East India Company's opposition to the landing of ex-convicts in India. The Governor's despatches, especially during the time of the governorship of Sir Thomas Brisbane (1820-25) contain many illuminating references to the participation of army

* See also *Fort William India House Correspondence*, Vol. XIII, p. 433.

officers in India in speculations in New South Wales. The correspondence of the years 1822-23 with the Secretary of the Indian Government's Military Department, is particularly illuminating on this matter. The Governor's despatches for the 1840s contain many references to customs duties on goods imported from India. Throughout the whole early colonial period, the matter of the monopoly, of infringements, and of the difficulties attending trade between Australia and India, appear to have caused considerable difficulty to the Colonial administration.

The papers of Sir Joseph Banks are one of the most important collections held by the Mitchell Library. Banks, President of the Royal Society, was one of the first to put forward a project for a settlement in Australia, and because of the scientific circle in which he moved in England, the collection contains some items of Indian interest, including a letter from Earl Moira to Banks, dated 3 November 1815, with reference to the opening up of a new way through the Himalayas from India into Tartary. The private papers of Governor Macquarie, who served in India before taking up his appointment as Governor of New South Wales in 1809, contain papers relating to Macquarie's army career, including some material dating from the 1780s when Macquarie served with the Bombay Army.

Unfortunately, the mercantile activities of early Sydney merchants like Robert Campbell, Simeon Lord and others are not recorded in collections of papers which have come down to the present day. Some of Campbell's ledgers exist but none relate to his overseas trade activities. In the case of Lord and others, the only material extant today regarding them is contained in the records of the Colonial administration. For the latter period of Indian trade, however, there is more material, and the papers of Captain Robert Towns, which have not yet been sorted and arranged, contain many references to his early voyages to India and the trade which he opened up. Towns exported considerable numbers of horses to India in the 1850s and 1860s though his connection with India began in 1842 soon after he had established a mercantile and shipping business at Sydney. Towns was one of the prominent Australians who wished to sponsor the immigration of labourers from India during the 1840s. By the 1830s the trade connection with India had become stronger and from this period the Mitchell Library holds the memorandum book of J. Janssen, covering the period 1807-49 and giving a description of conditions at Calcutta between March 1832 and March 1837. The memorandum book is

accompanied by an interesting album of water-colour sketches by Janssen. These show costumes, buildings and scenery in and around Calcutta during the period. The Mitchell Library also holds a number of sketch books whose authorship is unknown, containing coloured sketches illustrative of life in India in the 1830s and Lady Dowling's manuscript memoirs, giving an account of social life in India in the 1840s.

The proposal to introduce Indian labourers into Australia in the 1840s, strongly supported among the landholding squatters of the period, has resulted in the presence of some material relating to India in several of the collections of private papers held in the Mitchell Library. Draft petitions and letters relating to the formation of the Association for Obtaining Permission to bring in Labourers from India give a picture of this interesting movement. The papers of Dr. James Mitchell, of Edward Deas Thomson, and other collections include material of this kind, and the Governors' despatches for the 1840s especially those of Governor Gipps, contain material on the question.

By the late 1840s the subject of communications between England and Australia excited considerable interest in colonial circles. In the papers of Sir Thomas Mitchell are items relating to the problem of communications between Britain and India. The vulnerability of the old land route across the Isthmus and Suez was stressed by Mitchell and at the same period a movement was begun in the Colony of New South Wales to promote the establishment of the India and Australia Steam Packet Company as a competitor to the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company. The large and important collection of papers of John Dunmore Lang in the Mitchell Library contain material on this movement. Another collection in the Mitchell Library containing material of Indian interest for the period is the Crooke Papers which contain a section relating to conditions among Indian labourers employed in Australia in the early 1850s. This collection is still in private hands but the Mitchell Library holds photoprints of the manuscripts. There is very little material in the Archives of the Government of New South Wales relating to India after the beginning of Responsible Government in the Colony in 1856. The Colonial Secretary's papers for the 1870s contain correspondence with the indian authorities on scientific matters such as the supplying of silkworms and plants which the Colonial Government intended to introduce into Australia.

Apart from the material in the Mitchell Library there are some business records in existence in Sydney which have a

bearing on the trade between the two countries. The Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company extended its routes to Australia in 1852 and the records of the Company in Australia for the latter half of the nineteenth century are held in Sydney, though as with so many other deposits of business records, they have not yet been thoroughly examined. The Company also holds the records of its subsidiary, the Eastern and Australian Steamship Company, which relate to the sea traffic between India and Australia in the early part of this century. The records of the Colonial Sugar Company, held at its Head Office in Sydney, contain material on the Company's holdings in the Fiji Islands with material on the introduction of Indian labour in which the sugar industry in the Islands in the latter part of the nineteenth century. The Company's Archives have been surveyed recently and are sorted and arranged. The quantity of material is considerable.

In the Archives of the University of Sydney, there is an account by Lieutenant Cliford Mecham of the siege of Lucknow. Mecham served with the Madras Army for several years before the outbreak of 1857. He survived the siege and took part in the military operations that followed it. This interesting account, running into over forty pages of closely written manuscript, only came to light two years ago in the University. It was apparently presented some twenty years ago to the University by one of Mecham's descendants. On his return from India, Mecham published several volumes of sketches which he had made during the siege and during his subsequent campaign, but the existence of this long manuscript was unknown to the India Office Library in London.

The proposal to introduce Indian labour in the 1840s was apparently the point at which the Australian Colony became most closely involved with Indian affairs and this is naturally the subject on which there is most material relating to India in Sydney. In the course of the surveys which the Business Archives Council of Australia will be conducting in the next few years, it is likely that further business records will come to light relating to trade relations between the two countries. This short survey, it is hoped, will indicate, however, some of the more interesting and important material that is held in Sydney today.

DAVID S. MACMILLAN

NATURE AND SCOPE OF CHOTA NAGPUR COMMISSIONER'S PRE-1859 RECORDS

The records under review throw valuable light on the administrative history of the Division: that is, on the gradual adjustment of the simple but inflammable people of these tracts to the new exigencies of foreign rule, as also on their rapid socio-economic transition. An attempt has been made in the second part of this note to survey the administrative developments as revealed through records with special reference to the growth of the agencies that created these records.

Apart from their administrative interest, these records are also of considerable importance from the points of view of tribal research and sociological study. "Chota Nagpur presents not only villages in which the old institutions of the country are in various stages of decay", observed Rakhal Das Haldar, a Deputy Collector on settlement duty in 1880, "but also villages in which the commune system has been kept in tolerable vigour." In fact the old institutions of the tribal people were still vigorously alive when British rule was being effectively established in these tracts, and some of the pioneer British officers such as Roughsedge and Cuthbert, Wilkinson and Dent, Davidson and Tickell, Ricketts and Dalton have left in their writings[1] living accounts of what they found as traces of old communal life—a valuable source material for the history of human race which all ages and people will relish.

These records are also of considerable political interest in so far as the large tracts of country now included in this Division formed in the early British period the south-west frontiers of the Bengal Presidency, and flanked as it was by the powerful Maratha Kingdom of Nagpur 'from the southern extremity of Panchet to the banks of the Sone', the security of this region featured most prominently in the evolution of East India Company's political relationship with the Nagpur Court. The occupation of Chota Nagpur in the early seventies of the 18th century

[1] The best known published works are E. T. Dalton's *Ethnology of Bengal* and Col. Tickell's paper entitled *Hodesum* (improperly called *Kolehan*) published in the Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1840. Hunter's *Statistical Accounts of Bengal* and O'Malley's *District Gazetteers* also contain valuable information. Among unpublished reports the best known are Roughsedge's, dated 2 April 1821; Dr. Davidson's, dated 29 August 1839; Col. Tickell's, dated 1 February 1842; and Dr. Hayes's, dated 22 February 1867.

seems to have been effected on the consideration that 'this country would form a barrier against the incursions of the Marathas and give command of the passes into the Deccan'[2]. A British unit known as Ramgarh force was stationed at Hazaribagh with this end in view, and the officer commanding this army was charged with assisting the civil authorities in maintaining law and order in these jungle tracts as well as guarding the frontiers against the inroads of the Marathas.[3] Under the vigorous foreign policy of rulers like Wellesley and Moira, the function of this officer tended to change into one of active interference in the affairs of the neighbouring kingdoms on some pretext or other, for which the two Maratha wars, the operations against the Pindaris and the frequent internal disorders in the border principalities provided suitable opportunities. On the cession of the Saugor and Nerbudda territories in 1817, under which the Sumbhulpur, Patna and Surguja groups of states were occupied by the Ramgarh force, the political functions of its commanding officer grew to such a volume that in 1819 he was allowed to assume the designation of Political Agent to the Government on the South-West Frontier, and the superintendence of the three groups of states was placed in his charge.[4] In 1833 the administration of the whole Chota Nagpur region was entrusted to the care of the officer holding this post and in 1854 he was designated Commissioner, Chota Nagpur Division. Nonetheless he continued to supervise the administration of the tributary states of Gurjat Mehals as the ceded territories were called, till, these were eventually transferred to the jurisdiction of the Commissioner of Cuttack and Chutteesgurh Agent, to whom most of the records connected with these territories were also transferred. Among other records of political nature some of Captain Roughsedge's letters connected with the Anglo-Nepalese war are interesting. Roughsedge had personally led six companies of Ramgarh force against the Gurkhas in 1814-15, and these letters are those written or received by him during that campaign.

The most interesting records of political nature are those bearing on the revolt of 1857-59. During this period, it is significant, nearly all the civil and military stations in the Division

[2] J. Reid, *Final Report on Survey and Settlement Operations in the District of Ranchi* (1912), p. 15.

[3] Letter dated 16 July 1803, from Chief Secretary J. Lumsden to Major E. S. Broughton, commanding Ramgarh Battalion.

[4] Letter dated 19 January 1819 from Chief Secretary to E. Roughsedge, commanding Ramgarh Battalion.

were abandoned by the officials, and British rule for a time almost disappeared from Chota Nagpur. Though the officials could reoccupy their stations shortly afterwards, in some parts of the Division, such as Singhbhum and Palamau, British authority could be re-established only after long and protracted fighting. Authentic accounts of this revolt in Chota Nagpur have already been published, and hence it is unnecessary to detail them here.

Lastly, the Chota Nagpur records are also important from the point of view of economic history. Forming as these regions do the richest and most potential mineral as well as industrial belt of India, a study of industrial progress in these areas—the opening of mines and quarries, the establishment of factories and workshops, the development of roads and railways, the influx of European capital and the Christian missionaries, the opening of schools and colleges, and the formation of a rapidly growing industrial population—is in itself a matter of sufficient historical interest to attract the notice of all serious students of modern Indian history.

The old records of Chota Nagpur Commissioner were "partially destroyed" during the Mutiny,[5] and those which remained are contained in nearly 200 volumes of English correspondence which, without going into their detailed classification, may roughly be divided as follows:

(1) Ramgarh Collector's correspondence (1798-1833);

(2) Military and Political correspondence of the Officer Commanding Ramgarh Battalion, who from 1819 assumed the title of Political Agent as well (1795-1833);

(3) Correspondence of the Governor-General's Agent, South-West Frontier, which from 1854 merges into the correspondence of the Commissioner of Chota Nagpur Division (1833-58).

II

Under the Mughal[6] Government, the territories not included in Chota Nagpur Division formed half explored parts of Subah Bihar and were divided into a number of semi-independent zamindari states, the chiefs of which were the Rajas of Chota

[5] Letter dated 3 October 1857 from E. T. Dalton, Commissioner of Chota Nagpur, to Accountant, Government of Bengal.

[6] A valuable account of Mughal invasions in these tracts may be found in Blochmann's *Notes from the Muhammadan Historians of Chutia Nagpur, Panchet and Palamau* published in the Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XL, Part I, 1871.

Nagpur, Ramgarh, Kharakdiha, Palamau, Panchet and Singhbhum,[7] with a train of feudatories attached to each of them. Nominally, these territories passed under British rule in 1765, but the different zamindars could not be subdued till many years later. The opportunity was provided by invitations from certain dissatisfied claimants to some of these jungle zamindaris, and under orders of the Patna Revenue Council, Captain Camac gradually effected their conquest.[8] In 1771 Camac was made Military Collector of these tracts called Ragarh District which included Nagpur (Ranchi), Palamau and Chakye (now in Monghyr) as well as the present district of Hazaribagh with his headquarters at Chatra.

The British control over the conquered parts of the Division was, however, only partial and ineffective. Those of the zamindars who had been subdued were made to pay a fixed *jumma*, which, too, they do not appear to have regularly paid. All other administrative responsibilities, including police and criminal justice, were left in the hands of the zamindars. A *muchelka* or security bond was taken from each of them, in accordance with the previous practice, binding themselves to maintain order in their districts, to guard the roads and passes, and to catch and punish the offenders against public peace. More than three-fourth of the country was governed through the military collectorship of Ramgarh, and the rest was within the jurisdiction of the Jungle Terrai, Birbhum and Midnapur districts. In 1779, a *munsif* (native judge) was appointed at Chatra and in 1780 a regular *zilla* was formed for Ramgarh under a Judge-Collector; the unification of the two functions especially allowed here in view of its being a border district. The headquarters of the Ramgarh Battalion were later shifted to Hazaribagh.

At the time of forming Decennial Settlement of Bihar districts in 1789-90, special resolutions were passed in the case of these jungle zamindaris to which no specific promise was made, as to other Bihar zamindars, for declaring their settlement permanent if the Court of Directors approved.[9] This point was, however,

[7] Roughsedge describes the status of Singhbhum in his letter of 12 August 1818, as follows:

> "The Rajah is said to be in possession of an Imperial (Mughal) sunnud which prohibits the officers of the Empire from taking revenue from, or exercising authority over Singhbhoom, it is certain at least that the Mahrattas have never interfered in any manner with it, nor have its inhabitants since the establishment of the British Government in this part of the world been subject to any foreign dominion."

[8] Reid, *op. cit.*

[9] See John Shore's Minute on Bihar Settlement, dated 18 September 1789 (printed in Firminger's *Fifth Report*, Vol. II).

settled in 1799 when on a reference from the Collector of Ramgarh as to the desirability of a revised settlement in these tracts, the Board of Revenue ruled that the existing settlement might be regarded as fixed for ever as in the case of other zamindars. Another policy pursued in effecting revenue settlement in most of these estates was to make separate engagements with the subordinate fief-holders called *ghatwals*, thus weakening the powers of their overlords. Unaccustomed as they were to any regular and rigid forms of revenue payment, the results of the revenue regulations of Lord Cornwallis were ruinous to the Chota Nagpur zamindars. Panchet was sold for arrears of rent in 1795, and was purchased by a Calcutta banker. This led to an outbreak of worst commotion in the eastern parts of Chota Nagpur Division which has been described by the officials of the time as the dreaded *Chuari* against which the police of the state was powerless to act.

Our records of the series begin about the time when the whole of the Division was in the grip of worst crimes. Armed gangs of *Chuars* moved in different directions in the immediate vicinity of civil and military authorities and were led by powerful *ghatwal* chiefs often supported, or connived at, by the Rajas. Even the troops acting under Captain T. H. Welsh appear to have proved ineffective. Disorders soon spread to Birbhum, Patcoom and Tamar, in the former of which the management of the Court of Wards established under the Regulation of 1793 had proved particularly distasteful to the inhabitants. What is still more strange, the so-called gang appear to have enjoyed the support of the masses. A letter from Welsh to his Chief, Major Dyson Marshall, commanding Ramgarh Battalion, dated 15 September 1798, begins as follows:

> " I have the honour to transmit for your information copies of *arjees* (1 to 11) from several *Zamindars* of Panchet, the whole of which serve to evince that the district is nearly in an open state of rebellion, that the *ryots* refuse to pay the revenue, and that some already have and others are about to join the *Chooars*."

The confusion appears to have been all the more heightened by the renewal of the inroads of the Marathas who had forcibly seized the pargana of Barwa in Palamau and laid waste five other parganas of the Chota Nagpur Raj[10]. In 1799 Captain E. Roughsedge, who was destined later to play much greater roles in the annals of Chota Nagpur, was despatched with troops to suppress rebellions in the disturbed districts, and his letters to Major Dyson Marshall

[10] Letter dated 17 April 1798 from W. Hunter, Magistrate of Ramgarh, to Sir A. Clarke, acting Governor General in Council.

throw abundant light on the state of law and order in those parts.

The correspondence of the period indicates that British control in these regions was most ineffective. The police and judicial regulations of 1793 had operated in these tracts only in name. Few Government *thannahs* appear to have been established in the interior, and the police responsibilities of the zamindars had been rendered abortive due to the prevailing uncertainty as to which parts of the 'regulations' were operative in these jungle regions. Up to 1799, the offices of the Judge-Magistrate and the Collector seem to have been united in the same person in Ramgarh unlike other Bengal districts where judicial and revenue functions had been separated under unequivocal orders of 1793. The two offices in this district were separated by a Government order, dated 2 May 1799, but the office of the Collector was very soon abolished and the revenue administration of the *zilla* was subject to the control of the Collector of Bihar,[11] whose jurisdiction now extended from the banks of the Ganges to the southern limits of the present Ranchi district, an area now governed by six Collectors. The Judge-Magistrate of Ramgarh was, however, continued, and he held his court alternately at Chatra and Sherghaty, the latter now in the district of Gaya. The only step taken for a more effective police administration in these disturbed districts was a reconfirmation of the police powers of the zamindars in the eastern parts of the Division, powers which were lately legalised by Regulation XVIII of 1805. Under this Regulation such parts of these territories where the crimes of *Chuari* had been most rampant were detached from Ramgarh, Birbhum and Midnapur districts and formed into a separate district under the name of 'Jungle Mahal'.

The area that remained under the Judge-Magistrate of Ramgarh continued to be in a disturbed condition. The reasons are not far to seek: there was no executive agency subject to the Magistrate to carry out his orders. The allegiance owed by the Raja of Chota Nagpur, whose estate extended to the whole of the present district of Ranchi and parts of Palamau, was very vague. He could never pay his revenue regularly.[12] He refused interviews with the British officials and was charged with neglecting the administration of justice and police, for which no remuneration or compensation was ever allowed to him. He did not

[11] Reid, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

[12] Up to 1799 a *Sazawal* appointed by the Collector but paid by the Raja was attached to the estate to realize Government revenue from certain portion of the harvest placed in his charge. When the practice was abandoned, the arrears began to accumulate.

recognise that his right to collect *sayer* was in any way infringed by the prohibitory regulation of 1793 and he resisted the imposition of excise duties by the Government. He failed to assist the Government troops marching under Colonel Jones in 1801-03 through his district, for which general *parwanas* had been issued by the Governor General.[13] The attitude of the Raja is summed by Captain Roughsedge in his letter, dated 27 October 1806, as follows: "...... the slightest mark of loyalty to the Government shown by any individual in Chotanagpur at the present day is sufficient to bring down upon him the undisguised and serious displeasure of the Raja and his officers"

In 1807-08, disorders became acute owing to dissensions in the Chota Nagpur Raj family and Captain Roughsedge marched into the country to enforce the authority of the Government. The Raja paid up the arrears of revenue and agreed to introduce a system of police to be controlled by the Magistrate but paid by him. The police arrangements took effect from 4 June 1809. It was about this time that a separate revenue officer designated as Assistant Collector was again deputed to the Ramgarh district. The Raja's consent to these measures was reluctant and the correspondence of the period shows that he continued to be viewed with suspicion by the British authorities. In 1819, he was suspected of complicity in the murder of a woman who was supposed to have caused the death of his children by sorcery. Consequently, he was deprived of his police powers, disgraced and detained for a long time at Chatra. The police of the district was put under an Indian superintendent subject to the control of the Magistrate.[14] The same year the Collectorship of Ramgarh was restored in view of the new fiscal problems arising out of the sale of Palamau and introduction of *abkari* revenue in Chota Nagpur.

The story of the Zamindar of Palamau is even more painful than that of the Panchet and Nagpur Zamindars. The Pargana had been settled with him (Churman Rai, son of Gopal Rai) by Collector Leslie in 1790. From this time he rendered all kinds of services required of him by the British Government. He attended upon and defrayed the expenses of Colonel Jones and his army which remained in his pargana for two years from 1801 to 1803 to suppress rebellion, and he guarded the passes under Governor-General's *parwana* of 26 August 1803. "In 1211 Fasli (1804) such

[13] Dated 26 August 1803.

[14] The arrangement was based on a plan suggested by Major Roughsedge in his letter, dated 18 February 1820, to A. J. Colvin, Magistrate of Ramgarh.

was the draught and scarcity in the Pergunnah my Zemindarry", runs a petition[15] of the Raja, "that hundreds of inhabitants died and hundreds were sold for 4 to 2 annas". From the beginning of 1806, the police in the zamindari was entrusted to the Raja's charge which continued with him till 1812. But for none of the above services or calamities a pie was ever paid to him as remuneration nor a farthing was ever remitted from his annual *Jumma*. Yet when the estate fell in arrears of revenue it was immediately put on sale, purchased by the Government, and granted as reward to Raja Ghan Sham Singh of Deo in recognition of the long record of loyal services done by that family, especially during the expeditions against the Pindaris as well as Surguja and the neighbouring Maratha states in 1812-14. The grant of the pargana to an outside zamindar resulted in an outbreak of serious disturbances among the excitable *Cheros* and *Kharewars*, and in 1819 it was taken over by the Government under direct management. Among many documents bearing on Palamau two reports, one by C. Parry, Asstt. Collector of Ramgarh, dated 20 February 1812, and the other by S. T. Cuthbert, Collector of Ramgarh, dated 13 April 1827, are particularly interesting.

It was about this time that Singhbhum, hitherto independent and unexplored, was also brought under British control. Its necessity was emphasized on Lord Hastings by Major Roughsedge, the officer commanding Ramgarh force, in a few letters written from Sambhalpur where the latter had proceeded to occupy that district consequent to its cession by the Bhonslas. Roughsedge had already received overtures from the Raja of Singhbhum and his two relations, the Kharsawan and Seraikela Chiefs, whose estates had suffered the depredations of the Larka Kols. In his letter, dated 12 August 1818, to Chief Secretary John Adam, he describes the Larka Kols as a savage but manly race inhabiting "a mountaneous and woody tract of country 50 miles long and 30 miles broad extending from frontier of Tamar through Singhbhum towards the boundaries of Coonjur [Keonjhur in Orissa]". No traveller ever ventured to pass through their country. Even a body of 100 armed men could not be induced to go straight from Seraikela to Bamanghatty which were then in a flourishing state. "The Chief advantages of establishing the British influence of control", observed Roughsedge in the same letter, "and doubtless the completion of our frontier and the connection of the province of Cuttack by a much nearer and more convenient route with Benaras, and the western portion

[15] Enclosed with letter, dated 18 December 1814, from T. C. Robertson, Assistant Collector of Ramgarh, to Board of Revenue.

of the British Empire, a similar connection is also gained by it between Sumbhulpoor and Bengal, and very important security to the general police of the State will be obtained by shutting up to criminals the asylum, it has frequently afforded". Necessary order having been obtained from the Government, Roughsedge first concluded treaties with the Raja and his two relations granting them British protection in lieu of a nominal tribute, and then entered "Colehan", as the country was called, with strong military force. The Larkas fought most tenaciously, but at last their leaders, induced by a proclamation issued by Government on 29 April 1821, surrendered and entered into engagements binding themselves to subjection to British Government and agreeing to pay to their chiefs at the rate of 8 annas per plough. The country was placed under the political charge of Major Roughsedge. Among a number of despatches written by Roughsedge on the subject of Singhbhum, one of 2 April 1821, addressed to Lt. Col. Richards, furnishing a detailed topography of Singhbhum with special reference to the Larkas, and the other, dated 8 May 1821, to G. Swinton, Chief Secretary to Government, submitting a report on the final arrangements made with them, are particularly interesting.

The establishment of effective British control led to gradual introduction of rules and regulations of Bengal Code in Chota Nagpur tracts. Large bands of outsiders descended on the plateau as police *darogas*, court *amlas* and *abkari* farmers, who, being more astute than the simple aborigines, played upon them all kinds of tricks and defrauded them of their money and land. Even worse than these were the crowds of upcountry settlers who followed in their train. "These were Mussalmans, Sikhs, and some others who came to the country as horse dealers and shawl and brocade merchants, fetched enormous offers for their goods from the Nagbanshi Chiefs and obtained farms of villages instead of cash, of which the latter Chiefs were always in want".[16] The people found themselves everywhere oppressed, and there was no chance of getting justice either from their own chiefs, who, deprived of their power and prestige, had naturally grown unmindful of the welfare of their people, or from the Government whose courts were too distant, their processes too cumbrous and their *amlas* too corrupt to prove useful to the simple *adivasis*. S. T. Cuthbert, Collector of Ramgarh, brought these widespread oppressions to the notice of Government in 1826 and 1827 without much effect. Commenting on the abuses prevailing in the

[16] Government of Bengal, Revenue Department, Resolution dated 25 November 1880.

collection of excise duties on a country liquor called *haudea*, he wrote, for instance:

> "The settlement with the *Thikadars* for 1233 F.S. has produced a revenue to Government amounting to 17,000 rupees, but it cannot be concealed that this additional Revenue (owing to the manner in which it has been collected) has been gained at the expense of the best interests of the Pergunnahs; for it has been proved beyond all contradictions, that for these last two years, the country has been a prey to the Tax gatherers in the shape of *Tickkadars* and *Katkindars* who have left no means untried to enrich themselves on the ruin of the people."[17]

The seething discontent burst out in the form of the Kol Revolt of 1831-32, which affected nearly the whole of the present Chota Nagpur Division. Valuable accounts of this movement have already come out in print. For graphic details, however, the military correspondence of the period and more especially the valuable reports written by Special Commissioners, Cuthbert and Wilkinson, dated 12 February and 6 April 1832[18], and by Joint Commissioner, Dent, dated 16 November 1832, make most interesting reading.

The movement was suppressed with iron hands, but the lesson it gave appears to have impressed upon the Government the unsuitability of the general regulations to the primitive inhabitants of these parts of India.[19] The result was the passing of Regulation XIII of 1833 under which Bentinck ordered the exclusion of these tracts from the operation of general regulations, and formed them into a non-regulation province, called the South-West Frontier Agency, which was to be administered by a Governor General's Agent. Under this Regulation, the old districts of Ramgarh and Jungle Mahal were vested in the Governor General's Agent.

By a Government letter, dated 9 December 1833, T. Wilkinson, the officer commanding Ramgarh Battalion, who had already acted as Special and Joint Commissioner for suppression of the movement, was appointed as the first Governor General's Agent. His pay was fixed at Rs. 3,600 per month and he was allowed four assistants. The assistants were to perform such duties as the Agent prescribed, and the Agent was to perform all duties

[17] Letter, dated 28 July 1826, to the Board of Revenue, Central Province.

[18] Original not available.

[19] Letter, dated 3 June 1833, from C. Macsween, Secretary to Government, to Dent and Wilkinson, Joint Commissioners.

previously discharged by the Commissioner of Revenue and Circuit, the Civil and Sessions Judge, and the Board of Revenue. He was allowed to continue as Political Agent in respect of the Tributary States already under his charge, but was relieved of the command of Ramgarh Battalion which was entrusted to a separate officer. He was further required to shift his residence as well as the headquarters of the Ramgarh Battalion from Hazaribagh to further southward as nearly as possible in the centre of the recently disturbed areas. The site chosen in 1834 was a village named Kishunpur, situated in the heart of Chota Nagpur proper, which has since developed as the beautiful town of Ranchi, the summer capital of the Government of Bihar and till recently the headquarters of the Eastern Command of the Indian Army.

Wilkinson divided the de-regulationised tracts into three divisions, namely Lohardagga, Hazaribagh and Manbhum, and placed them each under an officer styled Principal Assistant to the Governor General's Agent. The fourth unit, Singhbhum, came into being in 1837, when owing to the prevailing unrest among the Larka Kols, Wilkinson separated their country from the authority of the Singhbhum chiefs and brought it under direct administration with a Senior Assistant Agent as its officer in-charge.

Wilkinson framed a set of rules for the administration of civil and criminal justice in the tracts placed under his control. The criminal rules were approved by Government[26] and remained in force till the introduction of Indian Penal Code in Chota Nagpur in 1860. Under these rules the assistants to the Agent were vested with the powers of magistrates in the Regulation districts with the exception that they could pass sentences up to seven years subject to the confirmation of the Agent. In the administration of civil justice, for which the final decision of Government was withheld pending the promulgation of a bill on the subject (which obviously could not be enacted till the passing of the Civil Procedure Code in 1859), the course adopted was to be guided by the spirit of the old regulations with such modifications as might prove necessary in the best interest of the governed. In 1842, the Agent was relieved of a part of his heavy judicial burdens by the appointment of a separate judicial officer called the Deputy Commissioner.

In regard to the police, the inclusion of the Jungle Mahals in 1833 brought with it the system of zamindari police already

[26] *Vide* Macsween's letter, dated 17 February 1834, to Wilkinson.

in vogue there under Regulation XVIII of 1805. This system was extended to the other zamindaris under the Agent's charge and practically became the general rule. Under it, every zamindar exercised the powers of a police *daroga* in his own estate, and controlled the *ghatwali* and rural police there. He had also to maintain a small police force paid by himself. Some of the zamindars were also empowered to try petty offences, but their powers were limited to the infliction of a fine limited to five rupees. The formation of a regular police constabulary in Chota Nagpur was first attempted by Dalton in 1858-59 but it was soon superseded by the extension of the Police Act of 1861 to Chota Nagpur under which the police administration of the whole of British India was eventually re-organised.

No further administration changes appear to have taken place during the period under review except the change in the designation of the Governor General's Agent to that of Commissioner, Chota Nagpur Division. This was done by Act XX of 1854 owing to the passing of these non-regulation districts from the hands of the Supreme Government to the hands of the new Lieutenant Governor of Bengal. By a further Notification, dated 30 April 1861, the title of Deputy Commissioner was changed as Judicial Commissioner and that of the Principal Assistant as Deputy Commissioner. The above forms still continue in Chota Nagpur.

ADITYA PRASAD JHA

CORRESPONDENCE OF SIR WILLIAM RUMBOLD WITH HENRY RUSSELL (7 DECEMBER 1823—30 JUNE 1833)*

(1) *Sir William Rumbold to Henry Russell, Liverpool, 7 December 1823*

"My dear Russell,

We landed here the day before yesterday. I do not expect to get away till the 11th and then we must travel slow. I shall hire a Post Coach here if I can . . . . . I have been five months getting here from Madras, so you may probably have later news. God grant it may be good. It is very *important* for your interests and mine that we should meet soon . . . ."

(2) *Sir William Rumbold to Henry Russell, Thomas's Hotel, 22 December 1823*

". . . . . I now send you the papers you wish. Pray return them. When I can collect myself for a few minutes, you shall hear what I learn. My friend Kinnaird who begs me not on any more interesting and important material that is held in Sydney of his Part. But I am very cautious in following your advice of keeping away from Directors just now . . . ."

(3) *Sir William Rumbold to Henry Russell, Thomas's Hotel, 29 December 1823*

[Elphinstone has visited him.] ". . . . Elphinstone asks what you are doing? He says you are *lost if you do not come forward.* For God sake come to town if only to speak to me, that we may see what can be done . . . . ."

(4) *Henry Russell to Sir William Rumbold, Sutton Park, 7 January 1824*

"My dear Rumbold,

It is very inconvenient to me to leave home just now, but I will nevertheless make a point of seeing you to-morrow, Thursday . . . . . I have great doubts of the expediency of your going before the Court, or adopting any other measure of that character. Even although you may succeed in the first instance your success

* This is the sixth instalment of the correspondence of Henry Russell. The earlier instalments appeared in *The Indian Archives,* Vol. VIII, Nos. 1, 2, Vol. IX, Nos. 1, 2 and Vol. X, Nos. 1-2.

will be only temporary ; eventually you will provoke a resistance, that in the end will prove too strong for you.

Believe me etc.

H. R."

(5) *Sir William Rumbold to Henry Russell, Thomas's Hotel, Berkeley Square, 7 January 1824*

". . . . I addressed the Chairman of the Directors this morning and told him that having understood reports were in circulation that the Firm, of which I am a member, had received corrupt Support, I begged to be allowed to produce documents to contradict such reports. I have had no answer, and I hear that they will not receive my communications. If so they may go to the Devil altogether. I want, however, very much to see you, that I may determine how to proceed. The Resident has asserted in plain terms that he is convinced you were a member. If so let them prove it, and I am perjured, for I have sworn you were not . . . . ."

(6) *Sir William Rumbold to Henry Russell, Thomas's Hotel, 12 January 1824*

". . . . . I have a Correspondence with the Court which I wish to shew you, and they agree to receive any communications I wish to make them, which is civil. I have a statement with Copies of original letters to send them, but I wish you to see it first . . . . ."

(7) *Henry Russell to Sir William Rumbold, Sutton Park, 14 January 1824*

". . . . . If you wish me to see Your Statement before it goes into the Court, the only method will be for you to send it to me in a parcel by the coach from the George and Blue boar, Holborn ; and I will return it immediately. I have had some experience of the practice of the Court in matters of this kind, and have no hope of your deriving any benefit from such a course. I certainly shall not adopt it, in the present stage ; and for the same reasons, I particularly wish that, whatever you may do on your own account, you will not enter upon the merits of my proceedings. The Govt. in India, it seems, want now to make out that the Sixty lac loan was not a bona fide transaction, but consisted entirely of a transfer of old balances. This notion, of course, You can refute ; but you will find, as I originally

foresaw, that this loan will prove the basis of all your evil. I only regret, for your sake as well as my own, that I allowed even Lord Hastings's desire to divert me from my first objection to it . . . . . ."

(8) *Sir William Rumbold to Henry Russell, Thomas's Hotel, 17 January 1824*

". . . . . It would have been a great comfort to me to have been able to have your opinion of my Statement and papers before it went in, but I am sure there is nothing in it you could disapprove of. I do not pretend to advocate your cause, but I am compelled to do so in part, because I am obliged to justify an affidavit which Lord Hastings forced from me in India regarding you, and which the Government in India have attempted to represent as a false one. The affidavit is so simple and so plain that all those persons who have read it, and the Documents that lead to it are astonished at the attempt to attack it. It is drawn up and sworn to by Palmer and myself and states that you were never connected in any way with our Firm. A letter from Sir C. M. desires to know the period which it embraces. He is told in reply 'the whole period from the establishment of the House'. He asks the date of establishment and is told Feby. 1814. A most unjust and insidious attempt to insinuate away its truth, will destroy the poison of the attacks, and I believe do us all good, for there seems now but one opinion of the injustice and perfidy of the attempt. It is true that no positive charge was made against Lord Hastings, but the object has been to whisper away his character, and to make it appear that things were kept back, which could be brought forward. I have not attempted to refute anything about him, but the Private Correspondence I have produced, will have all the effect desired, and the evidence is conclusive. I shall send you a Copy of the Statement and papers tomorrow or next day. Palmer's letters to me contain nothing new, excepting a list of persecutions and annoyances. They have taken away his salary from the Government, because he would not say whether any persons were connected with him in business before our House was established. That he never will consent to tell them, so they may do as they like, and if they ruin us we cannot help it . . . ."

(9) *Sir William Rumbold to Henry Russell, Thomas's Hotel 23 January 1824*

". . . . . The last attempt to involve you was that you might have received more than twelve per cent. Int. from us, which

they say the affidavit does not deny. I maintain it does, but Elphinstone was delighted when I told him I was ready to swear that you did not. They all allow that the attempt to insinuate you had participation with Palmer before our House was established is futile, and that his transactions at that time were all events of a very different Kind.

Elphinstone tells me I ought to have drawn out a Statement Shewing the former state of the Nizam's Govt., the State of credit, the difficulties he laboured under, the grounds for Supporting Chundoo Loll ; The power of the opposite party, and the danger of the Nizam's Government being involved in the Confederacy against us ; The Rate of Interest before Palmer's establishment, and have Shewn that the Nizam's Resources did not decline under Chundoo Loll owing to his dealings with us, that on the contrary our supplies first carried him through the war, and then enabled him to commence a reform. He says also that I ought to have Shewn what reductions in establishments were made at the time of the loan. Metcalfe States that *no reductions* were made and that you know that. I can only draw up such a paper through your assistance . . . ."

(10) *Enclosed in (No. 9) : Sir William Rumbold to the Chairman, Deputy Chairman and Directors of the East India Company. London, 19 January 1824*

" Honourable Sirs:

In laying the accompanying documents before your Honourable Court, in conformity with the consent you were pleased to give to my application, begging permission to do so, I trust I shall be pardoned if I take the liberty of offering a few observations relating to those documents ; and, in so doing, I am compelled to advent to the political state and public credit of the Nizam's country, for many years before the establishment of the house of William Palmer and Co.

The house of William Palmer and Co. acted under the impression, that the decided and public support given by the British Government to Chundoo Loll, had arisen out of the knowledge which the British Government possessed, that a very powerful party, to which the Nizam himself was supposed to lean, existed in his Highness's Court opposed to the British interests, and hence the firm concluded that any assistance rendered to Chundoo Loll for the support of his Government, would be looked upon favourably by the British Government.

At the period when the house became involved in pecuniary transactions with the Minister, the credit of the Nizam's Government was very low, and the Ministers assignments upon his collectors were discounted in the bazars at a discount of three and four per cent. per month. The house, in lending him money upon much more favourable terms, supposed that its transactions were beneficial to his Government. At this time it never entered into the contemplation of the firm, that their accounts with the Minister would be subjected to an audit by the British Government. It was supposed that the Minister's satisfaction with the terms of their engagements was sufficient, and therefore all charges to him were consolidated under the head of interest, by which the adjustment of accounts with him was much Simplified. Had the house anticipated a re-audit of its accounts, the charges for expenses and commission would have been made separately, and the interest would not have then appeared so high.

In support of this, I beg to submit that the usual charge of British houses of agency at the Presidency of one per cent. commission upon one side of an account current, amounts frequently to three or four per cent. upon the amount of the balance.

But the accounts were kept only for the information of Rajah Chundoo Loll ; and the firm having received the sanction of the British Government to their dealings with the Minister, supposed that he was equally competent to make his bargains with them and with the native bankers, and they always believed that when he resorted to the house in preference to natives for accommodation, he did so because he found the terms of such accommodations from it more advantageous to him, than those he could make elsewhere. I beg to submit to your consideration, that during the Residency of Mr. Russell, all the transactions of the Minister with the house were upon the security of the Minister only and that the Resident had required from the firm an acknowledgement in writing, that they understood themselves to have no other security than that of the Nizam's Government, and no right to expect from the Resident any further assistance for the recovery of their debts, than such as he could give them by his influence over the Minister, without involving the British Government in any discussions with the Nizam's Government on the Subject.

In estimating the terms of the advances made by the house, it is hoped that the nature of the security will be taken into consideration: and I am sure, I am justified in saying, that no

natives would have lent money so cheap upon such security as the house held.

In confirmation of this, I beg to state that the native bankers at Hyderabad refused to take half the amount of the loan upon the terms of the agreement with the Minister, and only agreed to lend money for the purpose of the loan to the house upon its security, taking from it, at first sixteen, and afterwards eighteen and twenty-four per cent. for these advances, and compelling the house to pay them the same rates for all their previous advances. These facts are so notorious at Hyderabad, that I am convinced their accuracy will not be disputed.

I further submit for your consideration, that at the period of the great advances made by the house to the Nizam's Government, the interest of money in Calcutta was never less than twelve per cent.: that during that time the Company's Government had opened a loan, giving ten per cent. interest for a year, and that the rates of exchange at which money was received for that loan at different treasuries, and other advantages given to the lenders, afforded them a bonus of six or seven per cent. upon the money lent.

If such was the value of money in those times in Calcutta (and it may be easily ascertained by a reference to the houses of agency in London) among merchants living under the protection of a British court of justice, and when they had ample security for all money transactions, your Honourable Court can thence form a just conception of the rate at which individuals at Hyderabad were likely to borrow, when the lenders were aware of the hazardous speculation in which the borrowers had embarked.

I have understood that the present Resident at Hyderabad, at the commencement of last year, urged thereto by the distresses of the regular and reformed troops of his Highness, was induced to borrow money at Hyderabad through the First Assistant at the Residency; and that, upon the ample security of the British Residency, he could only obtain two lacs of rupees at twelve per cent. This fact I have only learnt from private letters to me: your Honourable Court may have information on the subject. If the fact be correctly stated, I venture to hope that it may be considered as highly in favour of the transactions of the house, for at the period above alluded to, the houses of agency in Calcutta would not receive money at higher rate of interest than five per cent., and refused to receive large sums even upon those terms.

I beg to submit to your Honourable Court, that the large debt to the house originated in the advances made to the Minister for the maintenance and equipment of troops during Lord Hastings' campaigns. That in making those advances, the firm was fully aware of the depth of the speculation into which they entered. They saw, on one hand, the imminent risk to which they were exposed of losing the whole, for they were aware that the spirit of resistance to the British Government, which manifested itself in all Central India, was fully as strong at Hyderabad as in the other native Courts. Had Chundoo Loll been murdered by the opposite party, or had he been dismissed by their intrigues, or had his pecuniary resources failed, they were convinced that the Nizam's Government would have joined the confederacy against the British Government. On the other hand, they had full confidence in the firmness of the British Resident, and in the zeal and fidelity of Rajah Chundoo Loll. They were aware of the vast importance which must be attached by the Company's Government to the active co-operation of the Nizam's and of the alarming consequences of his defection, and they imagined that, if the capital and credit of the house could be made essentially useful to the Nizam, they should render a public Service, which could not be overlooked by either Government. The firm saw the defection of other native Courts in succession with dismay, and could not but dread that the Hyderabad State would be involved in the general wreck; but it nevertheless continued its assistance, and the Nizam's Government stood firm to the end.

I venture to solicit your Honourable Court to refer to the despatches of your Residents for years previous to these campaigns, relative to the state of the credit and finances of the Nizam's Government, and to consider the extent of the military aid which he did furnish to the British Government: and if that aid was greater than might have been expected from his resources, I trust it will appear that he must have received great and unexpected assistance, and that the house of William Palmer and Co. may hope for some consideration for having furnished it.

The Resident and the Minister have frequently acknowledged the great public services rendered by the house at the above times; and we always hoped that the Governor General would feel disposed to look favourably upon an establishment, which had asserted claims to his protection upon their joint testimony.

I humbly submit, therefore, that if these high authorities appear to have shewn peculiar consideration for the house, the causes of this consideration may be readily accounted for, as proceeding from motives creditable to our establishment: and I hope and trust, that if it does not seem expedient that our house should be allowed to continue its transactions with the Nizam's Government, the liberality and justice of your Honourable Court will induce it to look favourably upon the house in the adjustment of its claims, and that it may not lose the benefit of the countenance of the British Government, in prosecuting its commercial and other banking transactions at Hyderabad, etc.

(signed) Wm. Rumbold."

[Sir W. Rumbold's Statement and the documents referred to in the above letter are printed in *Papers Relative to Certain Pecuniary Transactions of Messrs. William Palmer & Co. with the Government of the Nizam* (1824) pp. 727-731.]

(11) *Henry Russell to Sir William Rumbold, Sutton Park, 27 January 1824*

" My dear Rumbold,

I return your papers, which I have read with attention and interest. Your letter to the Chairman, in particular, I think it done with great force and ability. It does not appear to me that there is anything in it which could have been altered for the better. In the Statement which accompanied it, there are some passages, which if I had had the opportunity, I should have been glad to talk over with you, before it went in . . . . .

The consent of Govt. to sanction the original establishment of the house at Hyderabad was first procured by John Palmer's personal influence ; and, when the official application was afterwards sent through me, I recommended it in the following terms, in a dispatch to Adam of the 6th April 1814. 'The establishment of a commercial firm at Hyderabad, framed upon the principles, and conducted with the spirit, of an English house of business, will, I have no doubt, prove a source of general convenience and benefit.' In Adam's answer, dated 22 April 1814, I was empowered 'to afford the House every proper degree of countenance, and to recommend it to the favorable consideration of the Nizam's Govt.' I do not, however, recollect a single transaction, in which the House required any assistance from me,

or in which I supported its concerns with Chundoo Loll or any other person. It is amazing to see, after the terms on which Palmer and I were with one another, and the constant complaints made by him of my hostility and counteraction, that I am now charged with having given him a corrupt support, and having acted under the influence of a secret understanding with the House. . . . . .

I have always maintained, and always will maintain, that the Aurungabad arrangement, not only was a public benefit to our interests as well as the Nizam's, but that, at the time it was made, it afforded the only means by which the Berar troops could be kept in a condition to take part in the war . . . . The sixty lac loan, you know, was a measure to which I always objected, I had no share whatever in the formation or advancement of the project, and you would have been spared all the embarrassment in which you are now involved, if I had preserved in resisting its completion. There could be no doubt that the money, if applied by the Minister as he promised to apply it, would be productive of great utility in assisting the measures of retrenchment and reform ; and if the House were willing to make the loan, I was ready, on that ground, to give them all the support which my instructions authorised. But coupled as the scheme was with the proposal for the sanction of our Govt. I did not think it would be adopted in Calcutta ; and I was sure it would meet with serious opposition at home. For this reason it was that I declined forwarding the Minister's application, until I saw it was Lord Hastings' desire that I should do so. It was for his Lordship, and not for me, to determine whether he would or would not give the sanction which was required of him ; and it would have been a breach of my duty to withhold a set of official papers, which the Governor General desired I would lay before him. With the terms or details of the loan, further than they appear in the public correspondence, or indeed with the terms or details of any of the transactions of the House, I have, to this day, no acquaintance. A complaint has been made, either that I did not examine into the particulars of these transactions, or that, if I did, I neglected to report the result of my examination. When the draft of the proposed memorial from the House to Govt. was shewn to me in 1816, I objected to one of the paragraphs, inserted by Lord Hastings, of which the purport was that the Resident should be empowered to exercise this very scrutiny ; my objection being founded on the consideration, that it would be impracticable for the Resident to look with effect

into the details of transactions so numerous and complicated as those of the House with the Minister, and that it would therefore be unjust to impose on him a responsibility of which he never could discharge the duties. I always thought that the Minister was the person most interested as well as most competent to watch over his own concerns, and that he might safely be trusted to make his own bargains for himself.

Anything like a full and intelligible statement on the various points suggested to you by Mr. Elphinstone would comprehend a history of the Nizam's Govt. and affairs for years past, and would be both a voluminous and laborious work. My predecessor Sydenham, in his last despatch before he quitted the Residency, stated that the disorders of the Hyderabad Govt. were too extensive and inveterate to be corrected by any measure short of placing the administration of the whole country in the hands of the Resident; and that it was to be regretted therefore, that the only remedy should be of a character totally at variance with our views and policy. Statements to the same effect continually recur in my correspondence with the Govt.; and a stronger picture of the evils of the whole system could hardly have been drawn than is exhibited in two papers which I prepared for Lord Hastings, in 1815 and 1816, on the general character and condition of the Nizam's Govt. and resources, and in my despatches on reform written in 1820.

As to the state of the credit of the Govt. at Hyderabad, unless you say it had no credit at all, which would perhaps be nearer the truth, a stronger fact can hardly be advanced than that stated by you of the Minister's not being able to discount his assignments upon his collectors for less than 3 or 4 per cent. a month. Of all the securities in the market, those of the Govt. were the worst; and if it was necessary that Chundoo Loll should have money to pay the troops during the war, and to prosecute the measures of retrenchment afterwards, it is undeniably true that he could not have got it anywhere but from your House.

The original ground of our supporting Chundoo Loll was that, of all the candidates for office, we thought him the most strongly attached to ourselves. My predecessor, Sydenham, in his correspondence on the appointment of a successor to Meer Allum in 1809, stated it as his opinion, that that scheme of administration, which placed the largest share of power in the hands of Chundoo Loll, would be the best for our interests. The justness of this principle is best proved by the history of the subsequent fifteen years, and by a consideration of what would have been

the probable consequences to us, if any other individual had been Minister. Sydenham's opinion was adopted, and acted upon by Govt.; and when Mooneer ool Moolk was ostensibly appointed Minister, with Chundoo Loll as his deputy, he was required to execute a written engagement in the presence of the Nizam and Resident, declaring that he considered himself to be a nominal officer only, and that all the functions of Govt. were to be administered by Chundoo Loll. It may be said that Chundoo Loll has his defects. Where is the native of India who, measured by our scale, would not be found to have defects, and very grave ones too? The question is, not whether Chundoo Loll is the best Minister that could be desired, but whether he is the best that could be procured. If there be a man at Hyderabad likely to prove a better, I am sure I do not know him.

How Metcalfe can say that I knew no reductions were made by Chundoo Loll at the time of the loan, I cannot understand. On the 1st September 1820, I reported to Govt. that a reduction of useless establishments had been made, to the amount of between 22 and 23 lacs a year. I may have been deceived, but, unless I believed the fact, unquestionably, I should not have reported it; and my belief was confirmed by this, that not only the Minister assured me he had made the reductions, but that some of the parties on whom they fell complained loudly to me of the hardship they had suffered from them.

Believe me etc.

H. R."

(12) *Sir William Rumbold to Henry Russell, 17 February 1824*

" My dear Russell,

The Court of Directors are in a sad dilemma, and what they will do, I know not. They will have to say something in their justification in the next Court, and whether they will attack the House I know not. My friends want to dare them to bring forward any evidence against it. I confess I wish we could be left quiet. Kinnaird, however, has requested that you will come to town for a day to speak to him on the Subject, *and I entreat you to do so,* and that *immediately.* You may trust him *implicitly,* and he will be a staunch friend, but if you decline seeing him, it will give a bad impression. If we do not manage well now, we may all be in a scrape. So for God sake come and give us your advice and opinion.

Yours ever affecly.

W. Rumbold."

(13) *Henry Russell to Sir William Rumbold, 19 February 1824*

"My dear Rumbold,

If you had taken my advice originally, you would have abandoned your project of the loan; and if you take my advice now, you will do everything in your power to prevent any public discussion on the subject. For myself, my line was taken long ago. I avowed to my friends in the Direction the share which I had, from the beginning, in what passed at Hyderabad; and if I am attacked I am prepared to defend myself. Any information which you require, and which it may be in my power to afford, I shall be most happy to send you, but it would be very distressing to me to leave home just now, and I do not see what possible good I could do you, by assisting at your discussions. You know, even better than I do, the details of all that has occurred, and can describe to Mr. Kinnaird as accurately as I myself could, my views and Sentiments on every branch of the subject.

Believe me etc.

H. R."

(14) *Henry Russell to Sir William Rumbold, Sutton Park, 29 February 1824*

"My dear Rumbold,

I am sorry that poor old Chundoo Loll should, at this time of day, stand in need of any protection but that which his own claims ought to give him. He has stood faithfully by us, throughout the course of a long public life; and we ought not to abandon him, when he has grown old and infirm in the support of our interests. Sydenham, after much experience of his character and talents, pronounced that to be the best scheme of administration for us, which placed the largest share of power in Chundoo Loll's hands; and he has amply vindicated this opinion. Through the whole course of our connexion with the Nizam, Chundoo Loll has been the only Minister who, in the hour of need, stood manfully and zealously by us, and brought forward the resources of his Govt. with Vigor and effect. In our war with Tippoo in 1799, the Nizam did nothing. In 1803, he did all but turn against us, and Lord Wellesley hesitated whether he should not declare him a public enemy, and prosecute hostilities against him. How different was the conduct of Chundoo Loll.

In Lord Hastings's War with the Pindarries, when the feeling of all India was against us; when the Paishwah and the Rajah of Nagpore openly attacked us, when Sindia was kept in check only by Lord Hastings's presence at the head of an Army; and when all those, who called themselves our friends, thought that the moment was arrived for combining to overwhelm us; what was the conduct of Chundoo Loll? With the Nizam notoriously adverse to us, and hating Chundoo Loll for his adherence to our cause, with a rival instead of a colleague in Mooneer ool Moolk, and with a feeling of hostility universally prevalent against us, among all classes of his countrymen, did he shrink from the performance of any one promise or profession that he had ever made us? He openly braved the hazard and obloquy of his measure. He not only preserved tranquillity at home, but he sent an efficient body of troops into the field; and, for the first time in the history of our alliance with the Nizam, he furnished a corps in all respects qualified to act on the same footing with our own army. Could we have done without them? If, instead of being with us, they had been against us; if the Nizam's country and resources had been not only taken out of our scale, but thrown into that of the enemy, what would have been our condition? But for his fidelity and exertions how could we have got through the War? or how could we have ventured to engage in it? The whole scheme and character of our operations depended upon the part that was taken by the Nizam's Govt.; and it was solely and exclusively by the personal fidelity and exertions of Chundoo Loll, that we were enabled to accomplish, with ease, objects, which, without him, we could never have ventured to undertake. Yet is all this now to be forgotten? and, after he has stood by us through all our difficulties and trials, are we to cast him off, when he can no longer be of use to us? and to abandon him, in his age and infirmity, to the enmity of those, who hate him only because they consider him as our friend? If he could have expected such treatment at our hands he would have been wise to provide for the extremity. Yet, such has been his disinterestedness, and so entirely has he applied his own income to the public purposes of his Govt., that, with the whole revenues of the country at his command, and with no habits of personal expense, I am satisfied that, if he were to die tomorrow, he would leave his family without a shilling for their support.

Believe me etc.

H. R."

(15) *Sir William Rumbold to Henry Russell, Paris, 22 March 1824*

" . . . . . . You are aware that papers have been laid before the Atty. Genl. to ascertain whether a pretext could be discovered for prosecuting me. From what he told me before that, I do not believe that they can make anything of it, and Brougham was of the same opinion, but if they should be able to attack me upon a point of law, I do not think it would be wise to go to the expence of a defence. The injustice of the case would cry out, and they could not enforce penalties against me. I would not, however, remain in their power in England in such a case, and therefore I thought it prudent to fulfil my promise of coming to see my family here . . . . ."

(16) *Henry Russell to Sir William Rumbold, Sutton Park, 10 November 1824*

" My dear Rumbold,

The practice of giving and receiving presents in India cannot be compared to any usage which prevails in European countries. Under the native Govts. of India, no intercourse, either of courtesy or business, takes place without the interchange of presents. All such presents consist of jewellery, shawls, or dresses. Jewellery is given in one or more pieces, called *rukkums*. Shawls are always worn in pairs, and are also given in pairs, except to persons of the lowest order, to whom single shawls are given. Dresses in presents are never made up; the materials only are given, disposed of in Trays, and consist of Brocades (Kumkhab), Muslins (Selah) and occasionally embroidered stuff and trimmings. An inferior, in his intercourse with his superiors, always receives, and is seldom called upon to give presents. Among persons of similar rank and station, the average of presents given and received will, in the long run, be nearly equal. But a superior receiving the visits, or employing the services, of his inferiors, is obliged to make presents upon all occasions, and seldom receives any. This is peculiarly the case in the official station of a Minister. Every person newly introduced, or nominated to an appointment, or receiving an honor; every pubilc officer going to his station, or returning from it; every individual of any consideration, visiting the Minister, either from courtesy or on business, is entitled to a present. On every great festival, on the occasion of weddings, births, and birthdays, and on the various ceremonials connected with the religion or superstition of the country, presents are distributed by the Minister. Persons

announcing any good news, even servants bringing messages of mere compliment from individuals of rank, expect a present; and the very lowest of them receives a shawl. It is difficult indeed to conceive an occasion, of however frequent occurrence, on which the Minister of a native Govt. is not called upon to make a present. The Nizam also gives similar presents to all those whose rank or station is sufficient to procure their admission to his presence. These presents are at once the token and measure of the distinction conferred by the prince or by his minister. Whenever talk of a gracious reception, or obliging expressions, the natives of India speak of the number of pieces of jewelry conferred upon them. A man who receives two *rukkums* is at once stamped as the superior of him who receives only one; and he who has a dress added to his jewelry takes place of him who receives jewels alone. A similar difference in the presents given to the same person at different times, indicates his advancement or decline in rank. The presents that a man is to receive often form a subject of previous negotiation. It is not the value but the number that is considered: and on the same principle on which he requires to be met so many steps from the seat or from the door, he Stipulates that he is to receive so many *Rukkums*. The number of *rukkums* varies with the rank of the party, from one to ten. All presents given by the Prince or his Minister are held to be on the public account, and are justly charged among the public expenses of the Govt. The presents therefore given by the Nizam, as well as those given by the Minister, are provided by the Minister, and necessarily form a very heavy item of the expenditure of his office. By those at all conversant with the usages of a native Indian Court, the purpose for which articles of jewelry are intended may be known by their value and designation, and even of Shawls and Brocades the same judgement may be formed by their value. The minister purchasing jewels or shawls or brocades for himself would of course purchase them of a description suited to his Station, and in a quantity adapted to the numbers of his family. Those purchased by him to be used as public presents are of course much less costly, and in much larger number. In the particular instance of Rajah Chundoo Loll, he is so remarkable in the plainness of his dress, and the simplicity of all his habits, that whatever jewels or other costly commodities he may have purchased, may safely be pronounced to have been purchased on the public account. I do not know how far you can say that presents of this kind come more peculiarly under the objects of the loan, at that particular time, than at any other; but

unquestionably they constitute a public charge at all times. The Minister must have bought them somewhere or other, and it mattered no more to his Govt. whether he paid for them out of the loan, or from any other source, than whether he took the money out of his right hand pocket or out of his left.

Sudder means literally *the head*; and thence the chief place, the seat of Supreme authority. I do not recollect its ever been used in the correspondence between me and the Minister; and I was struck with the peculiarity of the term when I first saw it in Chundoo Loll's letter to Capt. Barnett. On the Bengal side of India, I believe it is a word much more in use than at Hyderabad. Probably therefore Sir C. Metcalfe may have been in the habit of using it in his correspondence with the Minister, who may have adopted it from him. Certainly, if the Minister had used it in a letter to me, or to one of my assistants, I should have understood it as applying to the Governor General in Council, and should have translated it so, or by the word 'Presidency'. In my correspondence with the Minister, either the Governor General was mentioned by those English words, written in the persian character; or 'Calcutta' was used to designate the seat of Govt. During all the time I was at Hyderabad, the term invariably used by the Minister, to designate the Resident, both in conversation and in writing, was *Sahib i aleeshan*.

Believe me etc.

H. R."

(17) *Sir William Rumbold to Henry Russell, London, 12 October 1825*

". . . . . I have a very short letter from Wm. Palmer of the 29th April. He sends me a copy of the Memorial which the Trustees had sent to Lord Amherst in behalf of the creditors; it is temperate and judicious, but contains nothing new, and merely asks for the permission to have intercourse with C. Loll, or that the Resident may be directed to collect the debts. Palmer says 'I have never seen such gross misrepresentations as have been employed to injure us. Much is related upon hearsay, with an affectation of candour without attaching much credit to it; and whilst from the manner of the report, we have been precluded from vindicating ourselves by being kept in ignorance, it has gone on making impressions to our prejudice. I am really astonished that such things can have been so uttered. H. Russell's pamphlet is excellent. I wait anxiously accounts

from you to know what effect has been produced by it. . . . . The accounts [of the Firm] are before the world, and what has become of Sir C. M.'s insinuations? I conceive it was from these items, that the reports were abroad that Lady Hastings had received jewels to a large amount from Lady Rumbold. The agency of the one Lady for the other was a rather farcical contrivance.' . . . . . .

Pattison has a letter from Lord Amherst of the end of May, telling him that Sir A. Campbell had taken Prome, and that deputies had come in to treat for peace, and that the war would be immediately concluded. I much fear this will have the effect of putting off Lord A.'s recall. It ought not, for if they considered Lord A. incompetent, surely a victory gained by Sir A. C. does not make any alteration in the state of Lord A.'s intellect! . . . ."

(18) *Henry Russell to Sir William Rumbold, Sutton Park, 16 December 1825*

[This letter refers to the Draft Instructions permitting Lamb to return to Hyderabad]

"My dear Rumbold,

The instructions profess, in terms, to leave the house at entire liberty to recover the sums due to it by private individuals; but, in substance, they do no such thing. The debtors of the house were both able and willing to pay their debts; and, if they had been left to themselves, would unquestionably have done so. But the Resident was ordered to tell them that the interest charged was illegal, and that the obligations were consequently void; and anybody who is acquainted with the natives of India cannot doubt, that what took place on that occasion impressed them with a belief, that it was the wish of the British Govt. that they should withhold payment of what they owed to the House. Merely to prohibit the Resident from future opposition, is not, therefore, to leave the House at liberty. The restraints which have been already imposed must be withdrawn; the erroneous impressions which have been given must be removed; and the House must be restored to the footing on which it stood, relatively to its debtors before the forcible interference of the Resident took place. If this is not substantially and effectively done, the House is as much precluded from the

recovery of its claims on individuals, as if the instructions conveyed a positive prohibition.

The judgment declared by the Court respecting the public debt due by the Nizam's Govt. must be founded on a determination to fix the interest of the loan at 18 per cent., and to reject the allowances of Mr. Palmer and his family. Upon what principle can 18 per cent. be assumed as the interest, which the loan was to bear? No such agreement ever took place between the Minister and the House. The House never could have made such an agreement. If it had, it would have agreed to lend the money to the Nizam's Govt. at a lower rate than it paid for it to other people. The House never professed to State the terms of the loan; and the Govt. not only did not call for them, but determined, after much deliberation, that they would not call for them. The repaying the House now, at the rate of 18 per cent. would not be giving it a saving rate. Setting aside all other considerations, which every House making such a contract is entitled to plead, 18 per cent. would not cover the actual outlay made by it in raising the money. I would not, I think, urge the argument that the House were bound to give information as to the *nature* and *object* of their transactions. Whether those words do or do not comprehend the *terms*, the distinction at least looks like verbal refinement. As to the allowances, the House can no more be made liable for them, than for any other payment made by them on the Minister's order. Those allowances were voluntarily granted by the Nizam's Minister, in the exercise of what he considered to be his unquestionable privilege, and without any reference whatever to the existence of the House. Mr. Palmer's own allowances were granted to him several years before he entered into business; they had been enjoyed by him with the knowledge of three successive Residents; he could have no reason to suppose that they were in any respect objectionable; and, if the House could have supposed that they ever would be objected to, they would, of course, have adopted the obvious precaution, of refusing to pay the Minister's order on account of them. The House, as an establishment, derived no benefit whatever from those allowances. If the British Govt. thought it right to interfere for such a purpose, it might unquestionably have required the Minister to discontinue Mr. Palmer's allowances; but the deducting them retrospectively from the claims of the House, is, in fact, to compel the constituents to repay the Nizam's Minister the amount of allowances which were voluntarily granted by his predecessor, which he never expressed any

wish to annul, and for which the House were no more responsible than they were for the Minister's application of any other sums paid by them or his order.

The provision respecting *Tunkhas* seems to have arisen from a wish to prevent any anticipation of the revenue, and any interference, on the part of the House, in the internal concerns of the Country. A very erroneous notion seems to prevail respecting the nature and effect of a *Tunkha.* A *Tunkha* is, in fact, not an anticipation of the revenue. Though it is granted before the revenue is due, it is not paid until after the revenue has been realized. It is an order on the Collector of a certain district, to pay a certain sum of money out of the revenues of that district, when he shall have received them; and, until the revenue has been received, the *Tunkha* is not due. The Minister, therefore, who grants a *Tunkha,* no more anticipates the revenue of the Govt., than a landlord in England would anticipate his income, who should grant a bill on his steward, payable the 31st of March, out of the rents to be received by him at Lady day. The same description of a *Tunkha* shews that the holder of it cannot derive any power of interference in the concerns of the Country. He has nothing to say to the collection of the revenue. His business is with the Collector only; and his right to payment does not begin, until the duty of the Collector, in realizing the revenue of his district, has been completed. A *Tunkha* is, in fact, a bill of exchange drawn on the Collector of a district, and the holder of it has no more to do with the Collection of the revenue of that district, than the holder of a bill of exchange has with the transactions of the Firm by which his bill is payable; there being, however, in the comparison. this disadvantage against the *Tunkha,* that, whereas the acceptor of a bill of exchange becomes personally liable for the amount, a collector is not liable for the amount of a *Tunkha.* accepted by him, further than the revenue actually received by him will enable him to meet it. The *Tunkhas* granted to the House may, if such a provision be thought necessary, be deposited with the Resident, who may be required to see that the House is prevented from any possibility of interfering in the concerns of the Country on that or any other pretence; but, as *Tunkhas* are the mode of payment exclusively adopted under all native Indian Govts., the precluding the House from receiving a *Tunkha,* is precluding it from receiving anything. The *Tunkhas* will not, for that reason, be the less granted. The only difference will be, that, instead of being granted to the House, they will be granted to

somebody else ; and the House will be invariably anticipated in the satisfaction of its claims, of whatever validity, or covered by whatever security, they may be. You must take care that your arguments do not differ from those of the dissents.

Believe me etc.

H. R."

(19) *Sir William Rumbold to Henry Russell, 14 June 1826*

". . . . . I have no late letters from India, except a few lines from which I send you a most interesting extract— 'Your voluminous and interesting papers by the Java under cover of your letter of the 6th July have been forwarded to Hydd after perusal. I am astonished at your exertion and in admiration of your talent and judgment, and even without your after information by the steamer of August I should have been assured of your success. But you will have learnt that Mr. Martin is almost anticipating you. Whether the reversion to Henry Russell's system is the exclusive result of his own conviction, or combined with Instructions from Home ; or with his private information of the Bd. of Control's feelings I am unable to learn. He is competent and resolute enough of himself to decide upon great changes, but it is not likely that he would bring the Phalanx here upon his shoulders unless some significant hint encouraged him' . . . . . ."

(20) *Sir William Rumbold to Henry Russell, Pulteney Hotel, 29 January 1827*

". . . . . I have no late letters from India, except a few lines from John Palmer, saying that Lamb was with him, and would proceed in a short time to Hyderabad. That beast Barnett is dead. I am sorry to say that Martin was likely to succeed Sir C. M. at Delhee, and we may not get so good a man in his place . . . . . ."

(21) *Sir William Rumbold to Henry Russell, Grillon Hotel, Albermarle St., 24 October 1827*

". . . . . Lord Wm. [Bentinck] had desired me to mark the Hyderabad Papers for him, that he may read what I consider most important. I am employed in it ; and an anxious to make references in the margin wherever Sir C. Metcalfe's assertions are inconsistent with others of his own fabrication, and to put

any little notes to most important parts . . . . . It would be most important that if ever he does open the book, he should find the antidote against the poison . . . . ."

(22) *Sir William Rumbold to Henry Russell, 30 November 1827*

". . . . . I had a letter from Lamb yesterday in *very low spirits* of the 7th July. He says Martin appears to be less friendly, from fear of Metcalfe and has done some injurious things to them. He tells me also that it is reported, *I know not upon what authority,* that I 'have given over attempting to do anything for the House, and attend exclusively to my own affairs!' He further says that there is a disposition still to think me *rich*! and that 'a foolish remark of Mrs. Russell in a letter to Mrs. Doveton that I was living at great expence in one of the most fashionable and extravagant hotels in London has the effect of confirming the belief' . . . . ."

(23) *Henry Russell to Sir William Rumbold, Swallofield, 2 December 1827*

". . . . . I feel much more concern at what you tell me in the other part of your letter. Lamb's gloomy views I hope will be dispelled by what he will have heard of Lord William's disposition; but the injustice which has been done to you is abominable. In all my letters and conversations, I have borne testimony, in much stronger terms than I have ever used to you, to the ability and perseverance of your exertions . . . . . I have little doubt that the dry fact to which Lamb alludes was mentioned by Mrs. Russell; but I have no doubt at all that the application which has been made of it is the work of other hands. I will ask her about it when I am in Town . . . . I am going to write to Doveton; and seeing the occasion there is for it, I will take care to tell him what I think and feel upon the subject . . . . . ."

(24) *Sir William Rumbold to Henry Russell, St. George's Hotel, Albermarle Street, 11 March 1828*

". . . . . The despatch passed the Court without any alteration (as it came from Mr. Wynn) excepting that the Court put out the expression that they quite agreed with the judges. Lord Melville made another slight alteration, viz., The Court meant to send out the last opinion of the law officers, with Bosanquet's which argued against them. Lord Melville would

not allow them to go, because he said no doubt should be thrown upon the subject . . . . ."

(25) *Sir William Rumbold to Henry Russell, 8 April 1828*

[Has obtained permission to return to India]

(26) *Sir William Rumbold to Henry Russell, London, 15 June 1828*

". . . . . I leave town tomorrow at twelve. I cannot go without telling you myself that Lord Melville has been firm. He has sent to the Court an extract of the Act of Parliament by which they are obliged to forward a despatch from the Board in a given number of days, and has insisted upon its going in the first ship. His letter to the Court, contains, I understand, animadversions upon their letter to him, and states that the Restrictions which went out with Lamb, were in his opinion, unjust, and the conduct about the opinion of the Judges very reprehensible. Thus the Court have pledged him deeper than ever, and I have the satisfaction of knowing that he will never allow them to renew their hostility . . . . ."

(27) *Sir William Rumbold to Henry Russell, Calcutta, 18 November 1828*

". . . . . We arrived here after a very tedious passage on the 7th. . . . . . We are living with John Palmer. Lord and Lady Wm. have received us with marked kindness and attention, and there is a cordiality about them both which promises well. All the members of the family could not but take their clue from them, but I must say that I have found in my old friend Caldwell, who is aide de camp, and right hand man, a steady, zealous, and useful ally. He is much gratified at the manner in which the great people have repeatedly mentioned me, and at the distinct declaration made by Lord Wm. that it was his wish to mark to me all the attention in his power. From all I can gather he is not yet in the power of any man or men, and no person seems to know who is likely to enjoy his confidence. He says little in Council, and I understand all hands except that he will act upon what he thinks right without being betrayed into arguments either verbally or on paper. Sir C. M. is here, so is Bayley, Lord C. I am sorry to say, is up the country. and not likely to return till June. Bayley is said to be weak and timid, and much led by M. . . . . Sir C. M. is silent, at present, at least I have not heard him quoted for any opinions. I have not met him yet.

Mr. Swinton I met once at dinner at the Govt. House, and of course cut him dead . . . . . The despatch which Lord Melville wrote is not yet arrived, but as Lord Wm. is going away to visit Aracan, and perhaps Penang, and will be away six weeks, I told him I wished for an audience on business, and he gave me up a morning by appointment. I was much gratified at what passed. I stated that I should not have sought to talk business till the arrival of the despatch, (of which I had previously apprised him of the contents) were it not that he was going away, and that the despatch might arrive in his absence, and I said I was in doubt whether to address the Govt. for leave to go to Hyderabad before his departure. He said that if the despatch came before he went he would immediately give the necessary instructions, but that if it did not he would desire Mr. Bayley to let the consideration of it stand over till his return—and he advised me strongly not to have any official correspondence with the Govt. till its arrival . . . . . He said he was much surprised at the Despatch of Feby. 23d. (the one sent out by Lindsay) which he had received. Nothing he said could be more favorable for me, and that he was astonished the Court should have been made to acknowledge so much. That he had quite made up his mind as to the course he would pursue, viz., to see that any orders from home in our favor were fulfilled in the spirit in which they were written, and with the most liberal construction for us, and that no opposition should deter him from following that course. That it appeared to him from tenor of the orders he had received, and those that were coming about me, that my objects would be by that course and that I had only to fear evasions or delays, neither of which he would suffer. He told me that he had no hesitation in condemning the conduct of the late Govt. about the decision of the Judges, that we had suffered great injuries under that conduct, and that it could not but have impressed the people at Hyderabad with the notion that the Govt. were determined, right or wrong, to prevent our getting redress. He, however, assured me that he would do us substantial justice, and there was evidently friendly feeling and sincerity in the declaration. I showed him a Copy of the Resolutions of the Creditors in England, which he read with attention; said the Govt. could not object to the reopening of the House, and that the document was most honorable and flattering to me. . . . . I have not yet had any letters from Hyderabad, as they have not had time to hear of my arrival. Poor Lamb died there many months back, but I have no particulars about it. Wm. Palmer complains of the Minister, and

of Martin, who are very great friends. . . . . . Since writing this I have received a long letter from Wm. Palmer sent to meet me here, with an account of proceedings for the last twelve months. Little had been done in our affairs. . . . . . I have not yet heard anything from Doveton, and cannot expect to hear for a fortnight. From what I can gather Martin has reported to the Govt. the total inefficiency of Sir C. M.'s plans at Hyderabad, and is in bad odour with him and with Bayley. . . . . In the letter I showed Lord Wm. and Wm. P. there was a paragraph about the strange fact that while Sir C. M. described C. Lolll as a monster of inquiry, Mr. Martin had treated him with the confidence which you used to give him, and that all his despatches sounded his praise. Lord Wm. said 'I can confirm that, it is most singular, that two such opposite accounts should be given of the same man . . . . .' . . . . ."

(28) *Sir William Rumbold to Henry Russell, Calcutta, 26 February 1829*

" . . . . I start in a steamer tomorrow for Masulipatam, and thence by Dawk to Hyderabad, Lady Rumbold remaining here, at Palmer's for the present, and will pass most of her time with Lady Wm. Bentinck at Barrackpore. Lord Wm. B. is gone to Penang and will be absent about six weeks. . . . . . The Bentincks have been all kindness to us, and we have lived with them *so intimately*, that the impression here is nearly as strong as it was in Lord Hastings's time. This must do us some good. In matters of business, however, he is dreadfully cautious and evidently timid. He is afraid of appearing partial, and will not even do as much as he *admits* he ought to do, from that cause. He *is certainly* deeply interested in us, and I find out constantly little things he has done for us which he will not even tell me of. I hope that he will have sent home some *minutes* which may be useful, for he has had to oppose Sir C. M. who has been violent and vindictive as ever . . . . . Doveton writes me very kind letters. He says I shall like Martin, and Oliphant, and others write me that he will be very civil to me. He means to go home at the end of the year, and I do not yet know who will succeed him. Lord W. will certainly not allow any *avowed* enemy of mine to go there.

Chundoo Loll is beginning to shew symptoms of an impression that our day is coming, and matters go on better, but Wm. P. is purposely resting on his oars till I arrive there. C. Loll has sent me very kind messages . . . . ."

(29) *Sir William Rumbold to Henry Russell, Masulipatam, 4 June 1829*

". . . . . I arrived here by Dawk two days back, and am hourly expecting the arrival of the Ship 'John' from Madras to convey me to Calcutta . . . . . Martin and I have had discussions and energetic ones ; at the same time we have kept upon the best terms, and parted with great cordiality. In truth he has behaved very well to me in essentials, and I believe his intentions to be excellent ; but he is too much under the domination of some Bengallee Moonshee, whose turpitude and rascality are so notorious that one wonders how he imposes on Mr. Martin. This man takes any bribe from 10 Rupees to 100,000 without Shame or concealment. Martin is told it by all those who care for him, and won't believe it. I have been obliged in one or two cases to allude to it in a manner too pointed to be misunderstood, and have offered to *prove* my assertions, but he never calls for proof. My first fight was about my visit to Chundoo Loll. He was told that I had free access to him for the settlement of the private debts . . . . . When I requested to attend him on his first visit ; he said that my going with him the first time would be considered as giving too direct a support to my claims, but that I could go alone when I pleased . . . . . An appointment was made by him with C. Loll, and I called upon Mr. M. on my way there to request he would make any observations he might think necessary, and also to offer to call upon him on my way back to state what had passed. He said this was quite unnecessary and I went. To my astonishment I found his Moonshee there, who took his seat with us. I immediately told C. Loll that I would not have come had I known he was engaged and asked for roogsut [*rukhsat*—permission to leave]. The old gentleman was very kind in his manner, evidently distressed and begged me to stay. I obstinately refused and came away. I immediately wrote a demi-official letter to Mr. M., reminded him of what had passed at my two conversations with him ; of his never having hinted at the intention of sending his Moonshee. . . . . I added that I never would consent to have my conversations reported to him by any native servant, or my word liable to be placed in a situation to be weighed against his, and that I considered his presence 'en surveillance' over me derogatory to me and otherwise objectionable. Martin replied that he had adopted this as the proper course and intended to follow it. He said he had sent 'The *Meer Moonshee Moulvie Syud Obeid ool Hassan ; the confidential* channel of communication between himself and the Nizam's

Govt.' I requested he would consider my demi-official note as official, and forward our correspondence to Calcutta. In the meantime I told him that I would not go to C. Loll, but that Palmer would when necessary, having assented to meet the Moonshee rather than neglect our concerns. The answer from Calcutta was long coming, though my conduct, as I have told you was much approved. The reply was *curious* and *guarded,* but on a close examination it was admirably suited to my purpose. It says the Govt. approve of your reasons for not going with Sir W. R. *Without any reference to this case,* they consider that on general principles, when *you* have *communications* to make to the Nizam's Govt., if you don't go yourself, you should send an assistant, and not employ any native; and you are desired to attend to this in future. Martin very good humordly sent me the despatch, with a private note as soon as he received it. I should here tell you that pending this reference to Bengal, we had had other discussions, and that I had made as I hoped, considerable progress towards arranging the affairs of the House, and further that Martin had shewn a disposition to afford me considerable assistance. I called upon him, now, and expressed a wish to go to C. Loll; he said that as no assistant was at Hyderabad, he would send Capn. Stokes, who is one of the officers in the Nizam's service, whom he calls his civil Secretary, but does not belong to the Residency. I told him I was certain he read his instructions wrong; that it was evident that the Govt. meant him to understand that I ought to go with him; *or* alone . . . . . He could not, or would, not see this. I tried to persuade him, but found him obstinate; at the same time I saw that he had his reasons for not liking me to see C. Loll alone. I determined not to split upon this point, and told him that though nothing should induce me to make a visit upon those terms, I would not make a further reference to the Govt. and that if he continued to give me the same assistance he had lately appeared disposed to do, I did not care about going to C. Loll myself. He was evidently astonished but much gratified at this, and I must say he has behaved well hitherto in all matters that have passed through his hands; but nothing definite or important is completed.

Our second fight was about the Court of Justice. I must tell you that Martin has all along chosen to defend the supposed Court, and its competency; though it was notorious that its existence was to be doubted, and that Shereef oo Dien merely acted there as the servant of the Minister. [Martin eventually

agreed to certain changes] . . . . . he agreed to insist upon some respectable man being appointed to write down, verbatim, what passed in Court; the same to be signed every day by Plaintiff and Defendants, and kept as a record. That two days a week should be fixed for hearing our suits, that parties should be compelled to attend, as also witnesses, and that oaths should be administered if necessary. This, and the permission given to partners, or trustees to attend the Court produced a great effect, and during several days that Palmer attended about small suits matters went on prosperously. At last we determined to attack the heirs of Ameer ool Moolk. [In this the greatest difficulty was experienced]. . . . . . We got a verdict against the estate for half our claim for principal. We are now fighting for the interest, which we must recover I imagine. . . . .

My next battle with Mr. M. which was going on about the time of Mouluvee Hyder's appointment was a very curious one. Moon-eer ool Moolk was security for three of four different dependants of his, for small sums of money. We had never been able to get six pence from any of them. About two years ago, Chundoo Loll undertook to negociate with M. ool M. the settlement of his accounts. . . . . . I should tell you that the Trustees have made many complaints of the delays which M. ool M. is allowed to interpose in the settlement of his accounts. While he pretends to complain that the delay is *caused by the trustees*!! for the purpose of swelling the demand against him for interest. In my correspondence with Mr. M. about these suits; I endeavoured to make him see that if M. oll M. were sincere in his wish to have his accounts settled, he could surely have no reason for objecting to so much being disposed of as related to these security accounts, and finally I proposed that we should give up the prosecution of the suits, leaving them to be adjusted by the Minister, with the other accounts on condition that M. ool M. should pay us five or six lacs on acct. of his debt. Martin agreed to urge this for me, and the difficulty with which he made M. ool M. to agree to pay anything must have opened his eyes. . . . . I have no doubt, however, that Martin will in this instance keep him to his engagements . . . ."

(30) *Sir William Rumbold to Henry Russell, Calcutta, 5 August 1829*

" . . . . . I have been sadly disappointed in Martin. Things went so well when I was there, and he promised so much that

I came away in spirits, and impressed with the notion that he would assist us. Indeed he assured me that he thought he had full power to do all that appeared necessary to ensure the settlement of two or three principal points for which I had been fighting. I cannot suppose that this was said with a view to get rid of me. Certain it is, however, that from the moment my back was turned, nothing was done. Indeed under one pretext or another everything which appeared to be concluded has been retrograding. The Minister says he cannot act without Mr. Martin and Mr. Martin says he has no instructions. . . . . We have got the 1st two lacs from Mooneer ool Moolk, and I hope we shall get the 2d too, but they are overdue. . . . . . You remember the particulars of our claim against Ameer ool Moolk. He died without our being able to get anything from him. . . . . Regarding Mooner ool Moolk's debt, we stand thus. Chundoo Loll has promised to get it settled, and for this purpose ordered the accounts to be made up, under his superintendence, by an accountant of ours, and one of M. ool M's. This promise was made two years ago, but as fast as the accounts draw to a close M. ool M. finds some pretext for commencing them again upon a new plan, and C. Loll always lets him do so. While I was at Hyderabad Mr. Martin appeared to interest himself in the accounts, and they were *actually finished*, and reported complete by the Minister. We were waiting only for his final orders, and Mr. M. assured me there could be, and should be no further delays. To my astonishment, however, after I came away Mooneer ool Moolk discovered a new reason for recommencing the accounts, and C. Loll has agreed to it. Unless something is done to put an end to this system God knows when it will stop. I apprehend the present plan is that it should last during the lives of the parties. Doveton has I know written to you and told you all that has passed at Hyderabad since the Nizam's death. The present man seems to be well satisfied with Chundoo Loll. The latter pretends to be in a fright about his place whenever he wants an excuse to do an injustice. He also pretends to think now and then that Mooneer ool Moolk succeeds in making interest at the Residency. I suspect, however, he feels very secure. The superintendants are still continued. Mr. Martin is very anxious to get rid of them, but his fears of Sir Charles Metcalfe, deter him from taking active measures. A scene was acted fifteen days ago at the Nizam's Durbar, which had been previously prepared, and of which I had information. The Nizam requested Mr. Martin to write to his Govt. to say that he solicited their removal, and would attend to the welfare of his

own districts. I *don't know what effect this will have here.* The despatch is not yet arrived. The Resolutions of the Creditors in England have been signed by most of those here, and will be probably by all. . . . . I send you a list of the signatures and of those persons who are in England, who have not yet signed. . . . . ."

(31) *Sir William Rumbold to Henry Russell, Ootacamund, Neelgherry Hills, 23 July 1830*

" . . . . The afflicting news I have received of the death of my friend D. Kinnaird is a severe blow to my feelings, and will be very unfortunate for my affairs . . . . . . I now send you copies of a letter I wrote to the Govr. Genl. from this place on the 28th of last May, and of Pakenham's (the private secretary's) note to me acknowledging the former. Poor Kinnaird was regularly informed by me of my movements and of the motives for them, but it is probable that you will be in ignorance of what has occurred lately, and I shall trouble you with an account of myself since Jany. last. My two last letters of last year to the Govt. appeared to have produced a great effect upon the mind of Lord William, but he told me, in January, that he could not come to any determination as to what was to be done in consequence of them, or of my former letter of August 13, 1829, till the enquiries, then on foot, regarding the conduct of the Resident's Moonshee had terminated. That he would then take up all Hyderabad matters at once; and he gave me to understand, that in the probability of his having to change the Resident, it would be better for me that his orders regarding us should be given to the new one. I saw the justice of this and felt its favourable tendency for me. At that time, however, Lord Wm. was going up the Country to Benares, to be absent two months; no orders therefore could be given till his return, by which time the change of the Monsoon would prevent my getting to Masulipatam by sea. Lord Wm. advised me, through Pakenham, to proceed to Masulipatam, and not to await his return, or the issue of orders, and told me that I should not remain long without having the means of action at Hyderabad. I determined, therefore, to proceed at once to Masulipatam. After this I received a confidential hint, that though my proceeding by sea to be within reach of Hyderabad was the best course I could adopt, yet it was considered that I should do better for myself, if I did not actually go to Hyderabad till the questions between the Trustees and the Moonshee, and between the Resident and

his Govt. were terminated. . . . . . . Soon after I reached this place I heard that the Committee [the Resident's assistants] had given in their written report upon the evidence produced [by] the Trustees before the Committee touching the charges brought by the former against the Moonshee; and that the report, convicting the Moonshee upon all the Charges, had been transmitted to the Bengal Govt. I was further informed that the Govr. Genl. had determined to remove Mr. Martin to Dehlee and that a Successor would be appointed forthwith. From that time till the month of May, however, I continued in the constant expectation of hearing that his Lordship had acted upon his intentions, but got no intelligence, excepting from reports which stated that he had altered his intentions from the opposition of his Council. I at last wrote him the letter of which I now send you a Copy; and you will see that it appears to have determined him. My letter reached on the day before Council day, and Pakenham appears to have written on the evening of the Council day. I have not heard anything more from Pakenham. . . . . The day after Pakenham wrote to me an express was sent off by the Supreme Govt. to Ravenshaw who had reached Masulipatam, by which he was desired to return immediately to Hyderabad and take charge of the Residency, and from that time all the communications from Calcutta were addressed to him. Among the first of these communications was the decision of the Supreme Govt. about the Moonshee. It was declared that everything alleged by the Trustees was proved against him, and he was dismissed the service with disgrace and Ravenshaw was desired to promulgate this and to make it public as possible. . . . . . For God sake, my dear Russell, see my friends Campbell and Lindsay and shew them a copy of the enclosure to the address of the Govr. Genl. Tell them that tho' we may hope for something less of prejudice to our interests under a new Resident that till something is done from home we have no chance of getting justice. Mr. Martin's Moonshee ruled him in the most extraordinary manner; he could make him write or sign any paper he liked, and Mr. Martin confirmed anything this fellow chose to say to the Minister. The Moonshee had a bargain with any fellow who owed us money, and was engaged to protect them from paying us anything. During our litigation before the nominal Court of justice the Moonshee dictated every attempt that was made to evade payment by our debtors, and you will see in the papers, relating to that subject, which I sent Kinnaird, that the hand of a man acquainted with English custom and

English legal quibbles and technicalities is evident throughout . . . . . .

If there be any justice in the Court of Directors they will write to the Govr. Genl. to state distinctly that their order in their despatch of Feby. 1828 has not been obeyed. That we have not been placed in a situation to obtain justice and that the Resident should be instructed to impress upon the Nizam or his Minister the necessity of his interfering to see all our just claims settled. If, as I am inclined to hope, Campbell is to be Deputy this year, he will be Chairman in April 1831, and if you will talk to him on the subject he will I think try to carry some such measure. For God sake see him, for I do not write to him relying upon your kindness to do so. . . . . ."

(32) [Enclosed in (31)] *Sir William Rumbold to Lord W. C. Bentinck, Governor General, Ootakamund. On the Neelgherry Hills, 28 May 1830*

" . . . . . I am induced to hope, that the failure hitherto, of my Letters and representations to your Lordship's Government in effecting any diminution of our wrongs, or procuring any orders for justice may be owing to the investigation of other charges against the Moonshee being in progress. But as neither continued the investigation of his conduct, nor the report of the Committee, convicting him on the charges preferred by the Trustees, has effected any diminution of his substantive authority, and he continues to exercise, though nominally suspended from his Functions, a most extraordinary degree of power and influence, I have considered, that it was prudent to suspend for a period all our efforts, and not to attempt a further contention against the combination of circumstances, which have hitherto opposed and baffled all our endeavours to obtain justice,—and as my return to Hyderabad under such circumstances would have been not only useless, but injurious, I have accompanied my family here. . . . . I entreat your Lordship to recollect, that while we have been compelled, during so long a Period, to remain inactive, we have been exposed, as have been many of our Creditors to increasing pecuniary difficulties, and that the Property at Hyderabad, to which we look in the first instance, for recovery of our claims, is daily subject to fraud and embezzlement. While the pecuniary circumstances of many of our Debtors are becoming more embarrased, and our expectations of eventual recovery from those Parties are daily diminishing . . . .

After what I have thus submitted to your Lordship's attention, it cannot be necessary that I should enter into any further explanation of the many serious calamities, which result to our affairs from the delay of justice, and as the Report of the Committee on the charges preferred by the Trustees has been at length transmitted to you, I venture to solicit, that you will not allow the Proceedings now pending regarding the Moonshee to occasion any further delays in the issue of such Orders, as you may consider just towards us. . . . . . .

The exertion of the authority used on behalf of the Moonshee, and the degree to which the Minister appears to have been induced to compromise his character for him, will account for the difficulty with which the proof of any one fact be adduced against him, notwithstanding the notoriety of his extensive venality. It will consequently account for the Trustees having been precluded from selecting, for the grounds of their original charges, the strongest cases within their knowledge. It will similarly account for the suppression of many complaints by other Persons. . . . . I will only observe that the subserviency to the British Resident of the Minister is notorious. That it is evident the latter supports the Moonshee to the utmost limit of his power, and that the conduct of the Committee proves, that they were fully convinced of that fact.

Whether the Minister's support of the Moonshee is distinctly sanctioned by Mr. Martin or not, is immaterial. It is clear that the former must conceive it acceptable to the Resident, since the latter has never manifested any disapprobation of the outrages committed to support the Moonshee, and to intimidate Witnesses from appearing against him. Mr. Martin alone could have removed that impression, but so long as it exists, whether it be well founded or not, it is equally injurious in its effects upon us, and upon all those, who are considered as having been opposed to the Moonshee, and is fatal to our hopes of obtaining justice at Hyderabad. . . . . ."

(33) [Enclosed in (31)] *Thomas Pakenham to Sir William Rumbold, Govt. House, 15 June 1830*

"My dear Sir William,

Your letter of the 28th ulto. reached Lord William yesterday evening and I am desired by His Lordship to inform you, the [that] Mr. Martin's appointment to Delhi has been determined upon and will pass immediately. His Successor has not yet been

determined on, but I think the matter will be settled in a few days, when I hope to be authorised to let you know on whom Lord William's selection will fall. The business has taken longer than was expected, and so long as matters remained undecided, I saw little use in writing to you. Indeed I will candidly acknowledge that I was desirous of avoiding the appearance of corresponding with you while things remained as they were. I am on the point of starting for Barrackpore so hope you will excuse a hurried letter.

etc., etc.,

(Signed) Thos. Pakenham."

(34) *Sir William Rumbold to Henry Russell, Hyderabad, 30 August 1830*

" My dear Russell,

I wrote you long letters, dated the 23rd July. I now proceed with my narrative. When Pakenham wrote to me, a letter was also written to Major Stewart, the Resident at Gwalior, to offer him the Hyderabad Residency. His acceptance reached Calcutta in time to put him in orders on 9th July, and Pakenham wrote to me about the same time to announce it and to say that he was actually on his route to Calcutta, where he was to remain a few days on his progress to this place. I hope and trust that Lord Wm. may tell him to see justice done us, but he seems so bewildered with the Court's orders and Sir C. M.'s influence that there is no saying what he will do. He considers that the despatch of June 1828 is most peremptory in enforcing the orders of Feby. 1826, prohibiting all interference on the part of the Resident, and that it annuls any benefit of that description which we might otherwise have claimed under the Court's orders of February 1828. I maintain that the orders of Feby. 1828 cannot be carried into effect without some assistance be afforded by the Resident, and I still hope that the Court may be induced to write to that effect. Those orders were founded upon a distinct admission that great injustice had been done us, and upon the solemn decision of the judges. Lord Wm. is so strangely bent upon adhering to his opinions, and upon acting upon what he chooses to consider the spirit of the Court's orders, that he will not issue any order by which assistance can be afforded to us ever so indirectly. I asked him to send a Commission to examine our claims and that we would pay the expence. He said: 'No I dare not do that, that would be assisting

you.' I asked him to let the Resident tell the Minister that Govt. expected him to see justice fairly administered in our case. He says that would be considered as assisting us. I asked him to write to the Nizam to tell him to decide our claims. I get the same answer. I ask him what he has done to carry into effect the orders of Feby. 1828? He says they are in fact nothing since the despatch of June following annuls them. I ask him whether it is possible the Court could mean the first despatch to be a dead letter. He says he has forwarded it to the Rest. I tell him he was distinctly directed to issue orders upon it. He says he referred it to the Resident who replied that we had suffered no injury, and therefore no orders were necessary. I ask him if he believes it possible that we suffered no injury; he said that it appeared to him a most extraordinary answer of Mr. M.'s, but that he must act upon it!!! A very little on the part of the Court would put all this to right. God grant that Campbell may be able to get something done. Is it not singular that Mr. Martin should have ventured to keep charge of the Residency after his very unceremonious removal, and after Ravenshaw had been directed to take charge. The latter is a quiet man, and appears to have submitted quietly, and Mr. M. continues to act as Resident here for a month after he was in point of fact removed. He seems to have thought that a great deal of parade would cover the disgrace attached to his removal, and managed to get the Nizam to pay him a visit. He gave colours to the Corps at Bolarum amidst fine speeches and feasting and has I believed contrived to make the natives think that his removal to Delhee is promotion, and honor. He is now at Masulipatam waiting a conveyance to Calcutta. What his plans are I cannot tell you. He has told some people that he has received the most flattering letter from Lord Wm. B.; while to his friends he says, that he thinks he has been very ill used; that he will not go to Dehlee, will not call upon the Govr. Genl. and will return to England this year. My own opinion is that he will be too happy to call on the Governor General and to go to Delhee if he finds that he may do so, without explaining his conduct, but rather than attempt that he will be off to England in the sulks. William Palmer and I left the Neelgherries, by dawk on the 12th of this month, and arrived here on the 25th having been much obstructed on our road by rain and nullahs. He is wonderfully recovered, and bore the fatigue of the journey very well, but he would have done better to remain there a little longer. We considered, however, that it was necessary to run all risks for him to be seen here, for Mr. Martin's people had

circulated a report that his absence was a feint, and that he was not permitted to return, and a grand intrigue was going on to get the Nizam to write himself to the Govr. Genl. to request that he might not be allowed to come here again. I cannot tell you as yet what we shall be able to accomplish. Mr. Ravenshaw is acting, but as he expects to be relieved in a week or two by the new Resident, it is not likely that he will pass any opinions in our affairs. I have not yet any account of Stewart's having reached Calcutta, so that he may not be here for a month. The Minister has sent civil messages, but I fear he will not be honest enough to do anything till he sees whether we can compel him. . . . . . It strikes me, however, that Stewart will be authorized to take at least as much interest in our concerns as the Resident does in all other matters in this Country and in that case he cannot but interfere to move the Minister to act upon his own decisions. In that case a very little time would arrange a great deal for us, for the foundation was all laid in Mr. Martin's time. In fact the Minister went great lengths towards settling our affairs and gave many decisions in our favor, which he would have avoided had the Resident and his Moonshee not told him that after all he would not be compelled to act upon them. I trust we shall now reap the benefit of that treachery, and that he will be told that he must act upon them. . . . . ."

(35) *Henry Russell to Sir William Rumbold, Swallofield, 30 June 1833*

". . . . . Before this letter reaches you, you will most likely have seen the new blue volume of Hyderabad Papers. After the interval of so many years, I did not expect a public revival of the subject; especially at the moment when the Charter was under discussion. Two motions were made in the quarterly court in March, one by Malcolm and the other by Rigby, neither of them, I have reason to believe, was made at the instigation of any party in the Direction; but either would have been sufficient to produce the papers. Astell and his party, though less numerous than they were, are still as vehement and vindictive as ever, and will never suffer their discretion to restrain them from doing anything by what they can gratify their malignity. Malcolm, I did think, was actuated, underhand, by hostility towards you or me, but this as far at least as you are concerned, he disclaimed in a message to Mr. Arabin; and, since his death, I have been led to think that I did him an injustice in imparting

any personal motives to him. His object was to enforce a rigid rule of non-interference on the part of our Govt. in all claims of British subjects on native princes or their dependants; and it appears that he had a fancy for the establishment of a special tribunal, to which all matters of this kind should be referred. Rigby is a lawyer. He was in Westminster hall when the motion for the mandamus was argued, and meant to call the Directors to account for their indiscretion in engaging in a conflict with the Board of Control, on a point of law in which they were sure to be defeated. What further measures may be pursued by the adverse party is still uncertain; and, for that reason, I also am undecided as to the course which I shall take. In the former discussion I found the effect of a speech so much more powerful and extensive than that of a pamphlet, that I had much rather speak than print. I have again qualified as a proprietor, and shall take part in any debate that may arise on the subject. . . . .

In a considerable degree also, I must be guided by the impression that is made by the Papers. You, who remember the sensation produced by those in 1824, would be astonished to see the indifference with which those printed seem to have been received. Not one single newspaper has even alluded to the subject. I have not heard of its being at all a topic of conversation; and Doveton, who went to the Oriental Club a few days ago, told me that the Volume was lying on the table with the leaves absolutely uncut. I must however be prepared for any course that may become expedient; and, with that view, I am going carefully through the papers, and making copious notes as I go. I sent you a copy of the one I have made on the subject of my own alleged connexion with the House. The other topics into which it will be principally necessary for me to go are the Aurangabad contract, and the Sixty lac loan, because they are those, my support of which is made the ground of distinct charge against me. About the Aurangabad contract I find no difficulty. I mean to consider it in two points of view; first, as it operated in our own interests, and secondly as it operated on those of the Nizam, and it will be easy for me to make an equally strong case in both. But the question of the loan has been so tortured and twisted in Mr. Peacock's elaborate observations, by which he has endeavoured to overthrow all the statements that have yet been made in support of it, that, fallacious as I am satisfied they are, I may. from want of technical skill, as well as want of information, be unable to detect and expose his errors. Whether I am called upon to speak or write, I shall do the best I can to make myself master of the subject; but you and Palmer will of course

come to the examination of it with advantages which I cannot profess. You will see what the particular allegations are, to which you will have to address yourselves; and I shall be glad to hear from you what you make Mr. Peacock's fallacies to consist in, and by what facts and arguments they can best be overthrown. Strive as he may, I do not see how he can get over the fact, that your advances to the Minister, in the six months from March to August 1820, amounted, without interest, to between thirty-nine and forty lacs, being ten times as much as the average amount of your advances during the same period through the five preceding years. No attempt is made either to deny or to account for this extraordinary excess nor can it be accounted for upon any other supposition than that the payments composing it were actual payments on account of the loan.

The two lacs of Rupees which Sir C. Metcalfe asserts to have seen drawn from Calcutta, and to have been employed in the House, did not, as I have stated in my Notes, belong to me. They were placed at 12 per cent. in the hands of Bunnallee Doss.

Arabin, than whom it would be impossible to have a more zealous, and difficult to have a more able, advocate left Town for Paris a few days before the papers were delivered. He told me that he would come over in case any debate should take place at the India House, when, of course, it will be important that we should bring together as many friendly members as we can: but, in his view of the subject, as far as your interests are concerned, he wishes the subject not to be further agitated, either in debate or print. He says your object has been accomplished in the despatch, as altered and enforced by the Board, and that as further proceedings can do you know [*sic*] good, they may do you some harm. In this respect however the choice is not in your hands. If our adversaries stir, we must be ready to encounter them. . . . . . My brother Charles is in Town, attending this reformed Parliament, which seems to talk as much, and do as little, as the most sanguine of its maligners could have predicted. Mrs. Russell is quite well, and desires her kindest regards and best wishes to you. Remember us to Palmer, and any other friends that may be with you; and believe me, etc.

H. R."

C. Collin Davies

PROBLEMS OF SIGILLOGRAPHY IN INDIA

Sigillography is a well-developed science in the West, while it has as yet to take root in India. Even the meaning of the term, as the name of a distinct branch of learning, is hardly known to any but archivists in our country. The present study, though elementary, intends to give some idea on this important but relatively neglected subject and to focus public attention on a new type of historical material which is awaiting discovery in the bundles of medieval deeds.

Connotation—In brief the term sigillography signifies a critical study of seals. It is derived from *sigillum* which in Latin means a seal. It is also known as sphragistics. The term seal is employed to describe both the implement for making the impression and the impression itself. This article relates to the latter usage except where the seal is referred to as the matrix.

Practice—The practice of using seals as emblems of magic, power and sovereignty can be traced back to remote antiquity. In the earlier ages the seal was used as a taboo. Later it became a symbol of power and was regarded as an attribute of sovereignty like the crown and throne both in the Orient and the Occident. In India, seals played quite an important role throughout its recorded history. We have not only references to the practice of sealing in ancient and medieval India but also have actual specimens of ancient as well as medieval seals. With the advent of the Mughals on the Indian stage we have an unbroken series of seals till under the influence of the West the seal was supplanted by signature.

Importance of Sigillography—The importance of sigillography is manifold. The archivist owes a great deal to the sigillographist but for whom many a document would have remained closed codices—undated and unidentified. It is well known that in medieval times the seal was more important than the signature. It used to be sworn to by witnesses and therefore served as an unfailing guide to authentication and as a means of identification. But this is not all. The importance of seals for the study of art cannot be over-estimated. Do seals follow the same trend in art as calligraphy, iconography and so forth? What is the difference in the symbology of the coins and seals? These are but a few questions on which a sigillographist

would be able to provide information for the expert in art and iconography. But what is important from the historical point of view is the fact that the sigillum or legend which sets forth the name and style of the owner provides us with data which not only corroborates and supplements the known facts but at times alters the existing conceptions of history.

Scope—In various parts of India small inscribed tablets of clay, which were baked into terra-cotta or left to harden naturally, are found in large numbers. The best known instances are the Buddhist votive tablets. But they cannot technically be called seals. The other clay-tablets can be called seals inasmuch as they at times contain devices only, sometimes only legends and sometimes both legends and devices. A large and highly interesting collection of clay-seals of the fourth and fifth centuries was found at Basrah, in Muzaffarpur District, Bihar. The bulk of this collection consists of seals of officials, guilds, corporations, temples, private individuals, etc.[1] Besides clay-seals, we come across copper or bronze seals. In ancient India the most usual method of authenticating a document was by attaching a copper or bronze reproduction of the royal seal. One of the bronze seals is of particular interest as it presents its legend in three different characters, viz., Brahmi, Kharoshtri or Kharoshtri and Greek.[2] But most of the medieval Indian seals are either impressed on paper or attached on sealing lac. Coming to the Mughal period the seals we meet with are almost bewildering in number and variety. Among others we find those of the Mughal Emperors, institutions and the nobility. We also come across seals of various local dynasties, viz., those of Oudh, Murshidabad, Mysore, Nizam, Travancore, Arcot, Poona, Gwalior, Nagpur, Jaipur, Jodhpur, etc. Then there are also the seals of the officials of the East India Company, viz., Governors-General, Commanders-in-Chief, etc. The seals of several neighbouring countries, viz., Iran, Muscat, China, Nepal, Burma, Tibet, Bhutan, Malaya, etc., are also found in Indian repositories. Specimens of many of the types mentioned above are found in the custody of the National Archives of India, but a large quantity lies scattered all over the country in private custody altogether uncared for. As a result they suffer from various forms of decay, e.g., cracking, scratching, collapsing,

[1] *The Imperial Gazettee of India*, Oxford, 1908, Vol. II, p. 38; *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India for 1903-4*, pp. 101-22 and plates 40-42.

[2] *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, 1901, p. 98, plate 20; *Imperial Gazetteer*, II, p. 26.

staining and perishing due to changes in their constituent elements. If early steps are not taken to preserve these seals it is feared that they will be irretrievably lost, leaving a big gap in our cultural heritage.

Preservation—Preservation of seals involves several operations, e.g., repairing, cleaning, restoring and packing. As far as repairing is concerned, it is generally admitted that the mending should be done with the same material as that of the original. Care should particularly be taken not to fake a broken design or hide in any way the modern work put into repairing. It is, therefore, advisable to use for repair a colour different from that of the material of the original seal. The condition of the seal at the time of repair should always be noted. As far as cleaning is concerned, it should be done with the softest available brush in order to avoid scratches. The finest watch-maker's cleaning brush is the best. Coming to packing, it may be noted that it varies with the way in which the seal is affixed to the document. Let us take pendent-seals first, though they are very uncommon in India. There are various methods of packing but the most elaborate, according to Sir Hilary Jenkinson, is the one "by which the seal along with suitable 'quilts' is placed in the cardboard box, in the sides of which a hole is cut for the tab, tongue or cords by which it is suspended. When this is used it will be wise to secure the seal by a stitch passing over the tab or cord and through the bottom of the box, and, in some cases, also to have an attachment to the box of cloth or some other material, which may be fastened by a stitch to the document so as to take the weight."[3] The packing of pendent-seals though elaborate is easy, but the preservation of applied seals, is difficult inasmuch as the documents bearing seals are very frequently made up into bundles, files or even volumes. Shellac seals in such a position have a tendency to break. It is, therefore, necessary to give some protection to applied seals. According to Sir Hilary Jenkinson, " a simple plan is to make a small quilt, strengthen one edge with a fold of linen, and through this sew it on to the document at the side of the seal, over which it forms a hinged flap. A more elaborate plan is to insert a stout guard in the volume or file and fasten on to this a sheet of millboard having a hole cut in it to fit (with plenty of margin for possible shifting) over the seal. In the case of a loose single document, having an applied seal, it is best to put it between

[3] Hilary Jenkinson, 'Some Notes on the Preservation, Moulding and Casting of Seals', *The Antiquaries Journal*, Vol. IV, p. 392.

two boards, the top one with the hole, as described, being hinged at the side to another, to which the document itself is fastened."[4] But from the point of view of the archivist the making of a permanent mould is perhaps the most important of all the processes connected with seals.

Moulding and Casting—According to Sir Hilary Jenkinson, the only satisfactory substance for making moulds is plaster of Paris, the finest obtainable quality being used (that known as Dental) and even this after being sifted through a fine gauge. It is not impossible to use warm gelatine even on wax seals and gelatine moulding is an easy process.[5] Mr. H. S. Kingsford recommends modelling or paraffin wax for making moulds but according to the same authority a better composition consists of 1 lb. of well dried and sifted whitening, with 4 oz. of bees-wax and 4 oz. of lard. The last two are to be melted and the whitening added by degrees and stirred in. Mr. Kingsford writes, "The more the mixture is worked after getting cold, the better it gets. To make a mould, a large enough piece should be worked in the hands until fairly soft. Then flatten it out to a little over the size of the seal, and squeeze it all over, not too hard at first, but afterwards firmly, especially over the deep parts and inscriptions. Wet it before applying to the seal, to prevent it sticking, and let it get cold before removing."[6] Casts can then be made. There are various methods of making casts, but the four materials generally used are metal, sulphur, plaster and wax. Casts of seals can be made on metal by means of electro-typing but it does not adequately represent a waxen original. Sulphur is inflammable and is not very satisfactory as it gives a slightly blurred rendering of the finer lines. While plaster casts are cheaper in material, they cost more than wax ones in time and labour. The ordinary way of using wax for casts is to pour it molten into the mould. But a better method, according to Sir Hilary Jenkinson, is to place the cake of wax on the table and have the mould pressed into it in a strictly vertical direction. The cake of wax should be from a quarter to half an inch thick, according to the depth of relief in the mould.[7] The use of casts has many advantages. It saves handling and consequently risk to the original is avoided. They easily lend themselves to

[4] Hilary Jenkinson, *op. cit.*, p. 394.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 396.

[6] H. S. Kingsford, *Helps for Students of History* (*Seals*), London, 1920, p. 55.

[7] Hilary Jenkinson, *op. cit.*, p. 401.

photography inasmuch as they are easier to adjust and can be made in any colour. It may not be preposterous to suggest that the photographs or casts of every seal not in the National Archives of India should be made and deposited in some central place. But this is not the end of the problem of seals. Many a time we are confronted with the problem of seeking confirmation of a certain seal: the impression before us may be damaged or partly legible and yet we do not know where to find a perfect impression. The problem can only be solved by preparing comprehensive catalogues of seals in public and private custody.

Cataloguing—A catalogue of seal impressions if scientifically compiled will provide a good deal of valuable information. Any catalogue worth its name should give the following details:

1. Call Mark.......................... 2. Illustration....................
....
3. Location ....
....
4. Type ....
....
5. Sigillum ....
....
6. Translation ....
....
7. Date.......................... 8. Shape..............................
....
9. Device ....
....
10. Design ....
....
11. Direction of the Sigillum ....
12. Dimensions ....
13. Language .... 14. Script...............................
....
15. Material .... 16. Colour ....
....
17. State of Preservation ....
18. Method of Attachment ....
....
19. Any other information ....
....
20. Remarks including references to other impressions ....
....
....

The following explanation will facilitate the understanding of the above.

2. Illustration—No written description can possibly enable a reader to visualize a seal unknown to him. A photograph or sketch can be more communicative than words.

3. Location—This means the exact position of the seal in the document. In the case of a clay-seal the site where it was found may be mentioned. If the seal is affixed on a document or manuscript, a brief account of the latter may be given.

4. Type—The particular group or groups to which the seal can be assigned.

5. Sigillum, i.e., legend—If legends are on both the obverse and the reverse, they must be carefully distinguished. Illegible letters should be enclosed in square brackets.

6. Translation—If the sigillum is in a language other than English, it must be translated into English.

7. Date—The date which occurs in the seal. In whatever era it might be, it should be converted into Christian era. The discrepancies, if any, should be indicated in the foot-notes.

8. Shape—Seals are of various shapes, viz., circular, vesical, oval, hexagonal, octagonal, rectangular, triangular, square, lozenge-shaped, etc.

9. Device—This includes emblem, insignia and other charges.

10. Design—Some seals have floral, geometrical and other designs.

11. Direction of the Sigillum—Whether the legend is to be read vertically, horizontally, clockwise or anti-clockwise. In the last two cases it should be clearly indicated at which point the legend commences. This information can be illustrated by means of an arrow—the tail to begin at the appropriate point and the arrow-head to indicate the direction.

12. Dimensions—Greatest height and width or diameter. Measurements should be taken carefully with dividers. Measurements in millimeters should refer only to the impression and not to the whole of the wax.

13. Language—The seals found in India are in various foreign as well as Indian languages, e.g., Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic, English, Chinese, Hindi, Bengali, Marathi, etc. While most of the

Indian seals are unilingual, we do come across bilingual and trilingual seals also.

14. Script—The style of writing which is called seal-character.

15. Material—Clay, copper, wax, shellac, etc., generally provided the sealing material. It would be interesting in this connection to find out when shellac sealing first appeared in India and the chemical changes, if any, produced in it by age. According to Abul Fazl, the sap of trees like Kunar, Bar, Pipal, etc., provided lac, which like wax got warm when exposed to fire but got afterwards cool and hard.[8]

16. Colour—The colour of the seal may be mentioned. In the case of the majority of Indian seals, the colour is either black or red.

17. State of Preservation—It should be clearly stated whether the state of preservation is good or bad and whether the impression is incomplete, damaged, blurred or chipped. If the seal is mutilated or fragmentary, the actual size of the fragment and its relation to the complete seal should roughly be indicated.

18. Method of Attachment—Whether affixed direct on the document or appended on a tongue, or tag or laces. If the last be the case, the colour of the laces should be noted.

This gives in bare outline how a catalogue of seals should be made. But an ideal catalogue would be one wherein seals are classified on scientific lines.

Classification—Seals are of various kinds. They can be classified according to the material on which they are attached. 1. Clay-seals: When an impression is found on clay tablets, it is called a clay-seal; 2. Metal-seals: These are technically called "bullae" (Lat. bulla, a boss, or circular metal ornament) and they are suspended from the documents. Most of the ancient Indian seals are found on copper; 3. Wax-seals: When an impression is affixed on sealing wax, it is called a wax-seal; 4. Wafer-seals: When the seal is formed on the document by means of wafer and not wax, it is called a wafer-seal.

Seals can also be classified according to the design of the matrix as follows: 1. Single seal or seal with an impression on one side only, produced by the use of one matrix. 2. Double seal or seal with impression on both sides which can be distinguished as obverse and reverse. 3. Counter-seal or seal with

[8] Abul Fazl: *Ain-i-Akbari*, Eng. Tr. by H. Blochmann, Cal., 1927, p. 274.

impressions on both sides produced by two matrices of different shape and size.

Seals can also be classified according to their shape as under: 1. Round or circular seals; 2. Vesical or pointed oval seals; 3. Rectangular seals; 4. Square seals; 5. Triangular seals; 6. Lozenge-shaped seals; 7. Hexagonal seals; 8. Octagonal seals, etc.

As far as the subject matter is concerned seals are classified thus: 1. Official seals which indicate rank or office; 2. Ecclesiastical seals which relate to the church; 3. Private seals which relate to individuals in their private capacity. The catalogue of seals in the British Museum is arranged more or less on the lines indicated above. Seals can also be divided into the following three categories: 1. Public, 2. Institutional, and 3. Private. Public seals can be subdivided into Central (Imperial) and Local (Dynastic). Institutional seals can also be subdivided into Ecclesiastical and Judicial. The final arrangement is a matter of opinion but a chronological arrangement within a geographical framework appears to be the most satisfactory as far as the seals found in India are concerned. It is, therefore, suggested that they should be classified as: 1. Foreign, and 2. Indian. Indian seals can be subdivided into Public, Institutional and Private as mentioned above. This classification will not only be convenient, but will also facilitate the study of sigillum or seal-character as developed at different places as well as the art of seal-engraving as practised in different regions.

Sigillum—In engraving the sigillum the seal-engraver often indulged in flourishes, embellishments and variations making it difficult for a layman to decipher it. He also displayed much ingenuity in the arrangement and treatment of the legend which in many ways is the most important part of the seal. It usually sets forth the name of the owner. Sometimes the sigillum contains the name as well as the designation and titles of the owner. These titles are either official or honorary, civil or military, temporal or ecclesiastical. They are generally indicative of the relation of the holder with his social surroundings or the sphere of his political and moral authority or jurisdiction. In some cases the name of the master is added to the personal name as an additional attribute. In some seals the name of the owner is followed by that of his father, while others give the pedigree of the owner. Such seals are called lineal seals. Some seals bear a motto, a rhyming verse or a pious ejaculation often indicative of humility.

Indian seals generally have a tendency to record the date in broad terms only. The dates they bear are rarely those of the documents to which they are affixed. They are usually of an earlier origin. Mostly these dates refer to the accession of a reigning monarch. Usually the date is given at one place but sometimes the figures forming the date are scattered amongst the letters of the legend. This date is useful as it provides us with a clue to the age of the seal. The names and titles contained in the sigillum provide us with information which has hitherto remained unexploited. Some seals have only legends and some only devices, but others bear both legends and devices.

Device—A few words may be said regarding the different kinds of devices which were employed in ancient and medieval Indian seals. Earlier Indian seals contain emblems like the royal insignia or coat of arms. The figures of an elephant, a lion seated with a staff, a tiger, a serpent, a horse standing in front of a sacrificial post, *svastika*, a lamp-stand surmounted by the sun and the crescent moon, etc., are the usual devices found in ancient Indian seals.

Since the modelling of animal figures is prohibited in Islam, the Muslim rulers of India usually avoided them in their seals and devoted their artistic ingenuity to creating rhythm in lines. Their sense of mathematical precision is well displayed in the execution of the legend and the geometrical as well as floral designs. But this principle of avoiding animal figures was not strictly adhered to. Emperor Jahangir, for example, represented the figures of Jesus and the Virgin Mary in some of his seals.[9] The device and the legend wrought in the seal provide us with data for the study of the art of seal-engraving as it developed at different places.

Seal-engraving—Seal-engraving was an art and seal-engravers like their brother craftsmen had to undergo training which was long and difficult. In the medieval period apprentices having good education used to take lessons from the calligraphists of the day and then served for several years with a master-engraver. Great care was taken to ensure the genuineness of a seal. Engravers were forbidden to engrave two exactly similar seals for the same person. Whenever a seal was lost the owner got some trifling alterations made in the new

Maclagan, E., *The Jesuits and the Great Moghul*, London, 1932, p. 70; *Tuzuk*, II, pp. 200-01.

one such as a change in design or date so that forgery could easily be detected. The shops of seal-engravers were regularly searched by the police so that they might not be tempted to put their skill to illegal use. It is, however, to be regretted that the names of only a few celebrated seal-engravers of the medieval period have come down to us. Altun at the court of Timur was reckoned a master of this art.[10] Abul Fazl gives the names of the following masters of the craft at Akbar's court: Maulana Maqsud of Harat, Tamkin of Kabul, Mir Dost of Kabul, Maulana Ibrahim, Maulana Ali Ahmad of Delhi.[11] Ghulam Muhammad refers to Mirza Muhammad Ali, who, according to him, was unrivalled among the seal-engravers of his age.[12] Like all other arts, the engraving of seals in the medieval period of Indian history underwent certain changes characteristic of different times and regions. It would be interesting in this connection to undertake a comparative study of seals and coins of the medieval period. Such a study would provide useful data for an expert in art and iconography. While seal-impressions are found in a large number, we know very little about the instrument with which they were made—the matrix.

Matrix—As instances of matrices we must mention first some objects from Harappa of which quite a few have been published.[13] From Sankisa-Basantpur in Farrukhabad District, U.P., we have a steatite or soap-stone seal-stamp.[14] In this line, however, perhaps the most important find is the rock-cut seal-matrix found at Rohtasgarh in Sahabad District, Bihar, which dates back to the early seventh century.[15] The material most commonly used for this purpose was, however, silver or copper. Gold was used but very rarely. The mounted stones bearing the sigillum were of various kinds, viz.. cornelian, garnet, agate, coral, turquoise, etc. It is, however, a matter for regret that no matrices of medieval seals have come down to us. The practice of erasing from the matrix the name of the king immediately after his death probably explains this lacuna. If the name could not be conveniently erased,

[10] Allan, J., Art, Khatam, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, p. 924.

[11] Abul Fazl, *Ain*, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-55.

[12] Ghulam Muhammad, *Tadhkira-i-Khushnavisan*, Cal., 1910, p. 66.

[13] *Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol. II, p. 48 ; *Archæological Survey of India*, Vol. V, plate 33, no. 1.

[14] *Imp. Gaz.*, p. 48 ; *A.S.I.*, XI, plate 9, no. 1.

[15] *Imp. Gaz.*, p. 49 ; Fleet, J., *Inscriptions of the early Gupta Kings and their Successors*, 1888, III, p. 283.

the engraving was entirely removed in order to make room for another sculpture upon a new superficies.[16] This proves that particular care was taken to see that the seal of one person was not used by another. It would, in this connection, be interesting to know something about the custody of seals.

Custody—People of humble rank used to carry their seals in their breast pocket. Some of them suspended it round their neck. But the dignitaries used to have a confidential seal-bearer called *muhrdar* who carried the signet in a small bag in his breast pocket and produced it whenever required. There was a regular post of royal *muhrdar* under the Mughals. During the early part of Akbar's rule, the great seal was in the charge of Khwaja Jahan[17], but the round small seal called *uzuk* was in the charge of one of the queens.[18] The great seal was also transferred to a queen after the fall of the Khwaja in the eleventh year of Akbar's reign.[19] When Khan-i-Azam Mirza Aziz Koka became *vakil* in the fortieth year of the region, he was given the charge of the great seal.[20] Jahangir refers to the custody of his seal only once in his *Tuzuk*, "When I was a prince I had entrusted, in consequence of my extreme confidence in him (Amirul Umara Sharif Khan), my own *uzuk* seal to the Amirul Umara, but when he was sent off to the province of Bihar I made it over to Parwiz. Now that Parwiz went off against the Rana, I made it over, according to the former arrangement, to the Amirul Umara."[21] Under Shah Jahan the *uzuk* was first in charge of Mumtaz Mahal, and after the coronation of the king, it was given to Asaf Khan at the request of the queen herself. When he was sent to the Deccan in the second year it was again handed over to the queen, and he received it back on his return. But when he went for the second time to the Deccan, after the death of the queen, it was given over to Begam

[16] H. L. Rabino di Borgomale, *Coins, Medals and Seals of the Shahs of Iran (1500-1941)*, 1945, p. 24.

[17] Abul Fazl, *Akbar Nama*, Vol. II, Eng. Tr. by H. Beveridge, Cal. 1912, p. 401.

[18] Father Monserrate, *Commentary*, edited by S. N. Banerjee and J. S. Hoyland, p. 209.

[19] Ibn Hasan, *The Central Structure of the Mughal Empire*, 1936, p. 101.

[20] Shah Nawaz Khan, *Maasirul Umara*, Cal., 1888, I. p. 685.

[21] Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Vol. I, Eng. Tr. by A. Rogers, London, 1909, p. 18.

Sahib (perhaps Jahan Ara) who retained the seal and the duty of sealing the *farmans* till the end of the reign.[22] The limited scope of this article does not permit multiplication of examples. It is, however, certain that under the great Mughals the *uzuk* seal generally remained in the female apartment.

Methods of attachment—We may conclude this study with a discussion of the method of attachment. In the case of *tamra-sasana* (records on copper covering more than one plate) it was customary to string the plates together by one or two copper rings passing through round holes in them. A bronze reproduction of the royal seal was attached at the point where the two ends of the ring met. In the case of records on single plates, it was customary to weld or otherwise fasten the seals on to the plates themselves—sometimes on the left side before the lines of the inscription and sometimes at the top.[23] In case of documents on paper, various methods of attachment were adopted. One method was as follows: At one end of the document a strip of stiff paper was attached, and a small portion of it near the edge was cut separating it from the rest of the strip. The seal was affixed to this small portion with impressions on both sides and looked like a *modified* version of the pendent seal. In most cases the seal was put *en placard*—that is, the seal was impressed directly on the face of the document. Abul Fazl informs us that the royal seal was affixed on the *farmans*. *Farmans, parwanchas* and *barats* were rolled up from the bottom into several folds and sealed at prescribed places by various officials from the *vazir* downwards. The two edges of the document were made to meet and a knot of paper was put over them. The seal was affixed on the knot in such a manner that the contents could not be seen. When thus sealed the *farman* was put into a golden cover.[24]

The *kharita* or diplomatic bag generally served as a receptacle for documents. The mouth of the *kharita* was tied with coloured strings and a seal was affixed thereon. This proves that seals in medieval India were used to authenticate a document or close it. In most cases, however, the seal was used to authenticate a document which was not closed. The Germans have adopted the term *untersiegeln* for this method of attachment. Sometimes the seal was employed to authenticate as well

[22] Abdul Hamid Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, Bib. Ind. I, p. 406.

[23] *Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol. II, p. 32.

[24] Abul Fazl, *Ain, op. cit.*, pp. 273-74.

as to close a document so as to protect it from being read by any one except the person to whom it was addressed. In German this method is called *versiegeln*.

A. I. Tirmizi

Information about medieval Indian seals will be welcomed by the author who is working on Mughal sigillography.

BIRCH-BARK (BHURJAPATRA) AND CLAY-COATED MANUSCRIPTS IN THE GILGIT COLLECTION—THEIR REPAIR AND PRESERVATION

The inner bark of birch and the palm leaf are the two most important materials which have been used in ancient India for writing purposes. While palm leaf manuscripts are found in abundance in East, West and Peninsular India, especially in old temples and monasteries, Northern India, particularly Kashmir, is the home of birch-bark manuscripts, and the reason is not difficult to find. The Himalayas contain an inexhaustible supply of birch-bark, and this is why in Kashmir and other hill countries this was used both instead of paper by the shopkeepers and for lining the roofs of houses in order to make them water-tight. The bark of birch is impermeable to water, and very durable.

The National Archives of India had a unique opportunity of tackling the problem of their preservation—a problem which has not been very satisfactorily solved in any repository—Indian, European or American—when it was called upon to process the oldest manuscripts on birch-bark available in India. In October 1948, the Kashmir Government deposited in the National Archives of India a collection of manuscripts known as the Gilgit collection for rehabilitation and microfilming. The collection consisted of nearly 1,800 prepared sheets of the inner bark of the Himalayan birch (*Betula Bhojpattra*) and was in a very poor condition of preservation. The sheets varied in size from 27·2″×5″ to 9″×2″. They were in flattened condition. The lines run always parallel to the broad side of the bark in imitation of the writing on palm leaves. The ink seemed to be of two different types. One was steady and stood wash. It probably conforms to the formula described by Bühler according to whom the ink used in birch-bark manuscripts was made by converting almonds into charcoal and boiling the coal thus obtained with *gomutra* (*urin bovis*). The ink thus obtained is believed as not being affected either by damp or water. The other type of ink could hardly be washed without being abrased or smudged. On microscopic and microchemical analyses it was found that the ink used in the case of all these manuscripts was no doubt carbonaceous in nature, but it was doubtful if the ink

in all cases conformed to Bühler's formula. The writing was, however, bright in all the manuscripts excepting a few in which the ink had lost its black brilliance owing to the deposition of dust. The brilliance was restored by cleaning the manuscript sheets with soft dry linen or with a cotton swab moistened with acetone. The sheets themselves were impervious to water and it required at least 24 hours to completely humidify them. Dry heat, the greatest enemy of the leaves, had caused many of them to crack, split and peel in all directions and many of the leaves had become fragmentary.

In many of these manuscripts writing is a variant of the Brahmi script, analogous to that found in the manuscript remains excavated at ruined Buddhist sites in Chinese Turkestan. Others show an early form of the Brahmi writing known in Kashmir as "Sharada" and once prevailing all through the hill tracts in the extreme north-west of India. The palaeographic indications suggest that some of them may date back to the sixth century A.D., if not earlier. The structural characteristics of the stupas within which large deposits of sacred manuscripts etc., used to be preserved and the dry climate of the region have contributed much to the preservation of these manuscripts, which would otherwise have been damaged beyond restoration.

The question of installation of a laminating machine for the lamination of records of the Government of India was finally settled by this time, and initially it was more or less taken for granted that the birch-bark sheets could be conveniently laminated. But further examination of the question and the extremely brittle condition of the birch-bark leaves occasioned doubts whether it would be at all advisable to subject them to the heat and pressure required for lamination. The texture of the barks and the presence of undulations in and around the knots in them were such as to render extremely problematic the uniform distribution of pressure on the bark sheets and consequent absorption by them of cellulose acetate when rendered plastic by the heat of the press. These considerations impressed on us the need for making enquiries from those institutions and repositories in Europe and elsewhere which might have had actual experience of handling birch-bark or similar material.

The replies received from experts to our enquiries may be classified as follows:

(1) One suggestion was that the birch-barks could be mounted between two sheets of glass like papyrus leaves after separating

the stuck-up manuscript sheets by the method adopted for papyri separation.

The Bodleian Library explained the method which they had adopted for the well known "Bakhshali" birch-bark manuscript in their custody. Each leaf of the manuscript was placed inside a mica envelope which was then mounted (detachably) in a card-board frame such as would both keep the envelopes rigid and prevent them from rubbing against or being pressed by each other. But the Keeper of the Library was doubtful about the suitability of the method as mica, cellophane and other similar substances tend, in course of time, to discolour and crack. They also lack the rigidity desirable for preserving fragile materials. He also explained the method of glass mounting with the addition of a shaped card-board mount placed on the edges of the glass round the document, the glass pieces then being bound with *passe-partout*.

(2) Another recommendation was that they should be strengthened by impregnation in celluloid dissolved in equal quantities of acetone and amyl acetate. The celluloid solution might be applied once, twice or oftener according to the state of the birch-bark leaves.

An analogous process of spraying the birch-bark folios with a lacquer compound was also suggested. It was thought that the use of a relatively dry spray might do away with the difficulty encountered with the running of the ink.

(3) Third line of treatment suggested was to impregnate the sheets of bark with a material which would tend to keep them soft, retain any water which is held chemically by the fibre, and make them manageable for handling. Since most barks contain a small quantity of wax and at least a trace of resin, a mixture of these materials with the wax (overwhelmingly predominant) should do.

(4) Like papyrus, the layers of birch-bark are laminated together by a natural adhesive found originally in the fresh specimens. The adhesive keeps the layers stuck together just by pressure when they are fresh. So it was suggested that if an extract of the birch-bark could be used for humidifying them, that would not only laminate the layers in each leaf out would also go a long way in removing their brittleness which is attributable to evaporation of the natural volatile oil present in the birch-bark.

(5) Yet another recommendation was that the sheets should be got into order for mounting in a guard book. The first stage is to place each sheet between two pieces of an openwork silk tissue longer than the document, sticking the edges with freshly made flour paste and when dry cutting the excess with scissors. A word of warning was, however, given that the gauze should not stick to the bark save at the edges. In short, the mounting method was suggested.

Before discussing the practicability of the above methods, it would be necessary to have some idea about the nature of the problem faced by the National Archives. The problem varied from locating lacunae caused by the flaking of the top layers of a number of sheets to substituting the missing portions of some other sheets with hand-made paper or processed birch-bark of appropriate thickness. There were also fragmentary stray pieces which had to be restored to the relevant sheets. Another problem encountered was that in some cases the sheets had got stuck along the writing and it was probably the gum in the ink which made them so. The layers of bark, as already stated, are impervious to water and so the exposure to damp created by a "Pettifogger Humidifier" could not help in softening the sheets for their subsequent separation. The separation methods suggested above were applied in some of the cases in which the ink was more or less of a permanent nature, but the impervious nature of the bark sheets rendered all attempts ineffective. Any attempt to separate the dry leaves by means of horn slices only resulted in peeling off the surface layer. The hot oil method of separating the leaves as suggested by Filliozat[1] could not be attempted as it was feared that the ink in some of the manuscripts was of an impermanent nature and would get smudged or washed out in such a process. A laborious process ultimately helped. The leaves were gradually exposed to steam generated in a boiler and then separated by means of horn slices.

As to repair of the manuscripts, trials and experiments continued to be carried out in the National Archives of India to find the most satisfactory and practical method of renovating them. The suggestions made by foreign experts were all based on theoretical knowledge, none having had first hand experience with birch-bark. Some of the suggestions had possibilities and were given a trial.

[1] "Manuscript on Birch-Bark (*Bhurjapatra*) and their Preservation", *The Indian Archives*, Vol. I, no. 2, April 1947.

The first suggestion, i.e., framing between two glass sheets was hardly practicable as nearly two thousand sheets were to be processed. In addition, the fragmentary pieces had to be reconstituted and fixed up somehow before framing. It was also doubtful if remedy No. 2 suggested above could be of any practical use. First, the leaves were not likely to absorb the plastic solution and the utmost that could be achieved was an exterior coating which would not have any organic relation with the leaves. Secondly, the coating would be of little use where a leaf had broken into fragments.

Suggestions at (3) and (4) above seemed to be very helpful though they left unsolved the problem of joining together the broken fragments of the leaves. The suggestion at (5) was not followed up, as the warning that the gauze was not to be stuck to the bark save at the edges or where it was used especially to patch cracks or lacuna in the text, discouraged experimentation for fear that any such accidental sticking might cause lasting bad effects. Moreover, the leaves being very brittle, the handling and use of the repaired manuscript sheets would become difficult unless some method of keeping the gauze stuck to the bark was developed. It was also felt that the layers of barks in the sheets being loose in many cases, the above method would not give sufficient protection to the individual layers.

As none of the recommendations detailed above solved satisfactorily all the problems posed by this huge collection of Gilgit manuscripts, an experiment with the chiffoning process was undertaken. A few sheets were repaired with chiffon gauze and flour paste in the same manner as paper manuscripts are repaired. The repaired sheets were allowed to dry but not fully and kept under pressure between glass-pieces when almost dry. The result seemed to be quite satisfactory. It was found that the flakes of the top layers of the bark which had come out almost wholly from the barks got very nicely stuck to the next layer, the paste entering the layers through the torn and broken places etc., in the normal course. No attempt was made to apply paste to the inner layers, for in that process not only would the writings be endangered but also the layers which were partially stuck by the natural resinous matter of the bark would get relatively displaced, thereby affecting the very form of the manuscript sheets. The fragments could be joined with the main body of the leaves by simply placing them in their positions in the sheets and pasting with chiffon. The missing portions were,

however, filled with hand-made paper of appropriate thickness and then pasted, the required thickness of hand-made paper being achieved by pasting to it two or three layers of paper.

The process of repair thus evolved strengthened the outer layers of the sheets and at the same time took care of the inner layer and sandwiched all the layers together into a whole sheet. Good flour paste prepared with the addition of saffrol, oil of cloves, white arsenic and a small quantity of glycerine was used for silking purpose. It was observed that the flexibility and appearance of the repaired sheets improved considerably with the addition of glycerine.

In this collection there were, however, a number of clay-coated manuscripts* which could not be repaired by the above method. The manuscript sheets were very much damaged owing to bad storage or handling and the very nature of the material with which they were coated made them more vulnerable than the birch-bark manuscripts. The coating was a thick mass of clay, perhaps gypsum, whose incidence per unit area was very much higher compared to the bast fibres contained in that area, and as such it did not have much strength to keep the whole sheet together. The writing characters were, however, bright and the ink used was carbonaceous. Application of flour paste on the manuscript sheets discoloured the clay and made the sheets wet in the same way as old art paper is affected by water. In the National Archives of India, a number of palm leaf manuscripts had been very successfully repaired earlier by applying on them a plastic paste made by dissolving acetate foils in acetone which is chemically inert and then covering the wet pasted surface with silk gauze or acetate foils. A small hand roller was used in fixing the silk gauge or the acetate sheet to the surface of the pasted sheet. It was felt that the same method could be effectively used in repairing the clay-coated manuscripts. The application of the plastic paste and the immediate covering of the manuscript sheets with silk gauge or acetate foils required considerable manipulation and still the result was not perfect as the application of paste could not be made uniform. While tackling the problem, Shri O. P. Goel of the Department found that uniform application of the plastic paste could be achieved if acetone in small quantities was applied with a cotton swab on a sandwich containing a document between chiffon and

* These were written on sheets made of bast fibres heavily coated with clay.

acetate foil on both sides in the order: chiffon, acetate foil, document, acetate foil and chiffon. A major portion of the clay-coated manuscripts were thus repaired by using chiffon instead of tissue paper. Subsequently, the use of chiffon was done away with and the documents were framed in hand-made paper with acetate foil pasted with venyle acetate.

More than nine years have passed since the Gilgit manuscripts on birch-bark and the clay-coated manuscripts were repaired. In order to assess the effect of time and storage conditions on the repaired manuscripts they were kept under constant observation. The manuscripts were kept in a steel cabinet wrapped with paper and tied between pieces of board of manuscript size. The room was not air-conditioned nor was there any special arrangement for ventilation and humidity control. It has been observed that the chiffon of the repaired sheets has turned slightly yellow. The colour of the manuscript sheet and the hand-made paper used in filling the missing portion of the sheets is unaffected. The flexibility of the sheets remains as good as when freshly repaired. The repair effected in the birch-bark sheets could be very easily undone by moistening the repaired surface with a cotton swab containing water. A clay-coated manuscript sheet was de-laminated in an acetone bath without any difficulty. On de-laminated clay-coated sheets it was observed that the strength and bond of the surface clay of the sheets had much increased and acetate foil which with acetone worked like a sizing to the clay left a fine plastic coating on the surface of the sheets. That the de-lamination of clay-coated sheets in an acetone bath presents no difficulty speaks eloquently of the efficacy of the method of repair adopted. The method not only arrested further powdering of the clay, but also strengthened it considerably.

The method of repair of birch-bark as described above was applied to the rehabilitation of a number of codices birch-bark which had not only become very brittle and fragile but had also completely lost their binding. After repair, the sheets were guarded with hand-made paper, gathered, sewn and bound into volumes.

Preservation of birch-bark manuscripts no longer presents insurmountable problems. Most of the manuscripts which have come from Central Asia are in excellent condition and on this point it has already been stressed that not only the climate of Central Asia but also the method of storage in stupas has

contributed greatly to the present state of preservation of birch-bark. The worst enemy of birch-bark is dampness, on account of which their outer layers which are very thin often get stuck when the manuscript is kept tied like palm leaf manuscripts. The sticking, it is felt, is due more to ink than to any other reason. The joining of the frayed and torn edges of bark sheets with added strips of good quality hand-made paper of appropriate thickness or even with processed bark of birch adds much to their strength, while their flexibility is not impaired. Use of glass for preserving birch-bark sheets is not feasible when a large number of sheets are involved. Moreover, it is doubtful if that will be an ideal process. The best method seems to preserve the sheets flat and tied between two pieces of wood or mill boards in the manner palm leaf manuscripts are generally preserved.

It has been observed that not a single sheet of the collection of birch-bark manuscripts has been damaged by insects. An examination of the fibre contents of birch-bark was undertaken in the National Archives of India and it has been found by alcohol-benzene extraction method that raw birch-bark contains 15 to 20 per cent. of solid material which is a mixture of methyl salicylate, tannin and wax. The extreme resistivity to damage by insects is attributable to the presence of methyl salicylate. In this connection it will be interesting to note that birch oil which contains methyl salicylate as one of its important constituents is extensively used as a disinfectant and for leather dressing.

An air-conditioned vault will, no doubt, offer the best storage condition for the preservation of birch-bark manuscripts, but the Gilgit collection repaired in 1949-50 and kept in stack where the temperature and humidity varied from 45° F. to 110° F. and 5 per cent. to 95 per cent. respectively were in excellent condition. Excepting that the chiffon had turned slightly yellow, there was no sign of any harmful effect of the repair method adopted. In fact the whole collection seemed to have acquired more grace and beauty than when originally brought to the Archives ten years ago.

P. C. Majumdar

NEWS NOTES

INDIA

The National Archives of India

The collection of records in the National Archives of India showed a substantial increase during the year under review. The new accessions were records of: Foreign and Political Department, 1931-45; Department of Commerce, 1933; Finance Department; late Rajputana Agency; Central India Agency and Eastern States Agency, 1898-1947. The Department also received 122 authenticated copies of Bills from Part A, B and C States, assented to by the President. Besides, 32 documents relating to the Directorate of Audit (Indian accounts in U.K.) bearing the signatures of Queen Victoria, King Edward VII and King George V as well as of such eminent British statesmen as Gladstone, Disraeli, Asquith etc., were acquired. The cartographic acquisitions include five Survey of India maps comprising 10 sheets. Among the Persian manuscripts purchased during the year, special mention may be made of *Mirat-al-Ahwal-i-Jahan Numa,* transcribed in 1819-20 A.D., and 8 *parwanas* belonging to the time of Emperors Aurangzeb and Muhammad Shah and Nawabs Amjad Ali Shah and Wajid Ali Shah making grants of land to certain individuals and an original letter of Raja Man Singh of Ayodhia to Mir Zakir Hussain, requesting for some masons. *Mirat-al-Ahwal-i-Jahan Numa,* written early in the eighteenth century by Muhammad Bakir-ul-Isfahani contains the family history and memoirs of the author who travelled extensively in India. It includes an account of the wars of Daulat Rao Sindia and Jaswant Rao Holkar.

Owing to the foreign exchange difficulties, the Department's programme of acquiring microfilm copies of records of Indian interest from abroad, came almost to a standstill. The only significant acquisition under this head during the year was a micro-copy of the correspondence of the agents of Nana Sahib with the French authorities at Chandernagore in 1857 available at the Archives of the Ministry of External Affairs of France. These letters requesting Napoleon III to arbitrate between the English and the mutineers contain a detailed analysis of the causes of the uprising.

Thirty-four original letters of Mahatma Gandhi written during the Champaran Struggle in 1917 were gifted to the National Archives by the Government of Bihar.

The National Archives Library acquired 4,610 books and periodicals by purchase, exchange and gift. These include publications on archive-keeping, modern Indian history and allied subjects.

The publication programme of the Department made steady progress during the period. Volume II of the *Fort William-India House* series was published and issued for sale while the printing of volumes I, IX and XIII made good progress. Another in the series, volume VI, was sent to the press. The printing of the *Index to the Records of the Foreign and Political Department* (1756-80), volume I, was completed and that of the *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, volume X neared completion.

Under the National Archives Fellowships Scheme for encouraging research on records relating to modern Indian history, three scholars completed their work in 1956 and another scholar finished his work during the year under report. This scheme which was launched in 1954 showed a few defects in actual working. The Department, therefore, submitted a proposal to the Government of India suggesting certain modifications in it in order to ensure a more intensive study of original records.

The four candidates admitted to the One Year Diploma Course in the beginning of the year successfully completed their training. The Department also conducted as usual two short-term courses of training, each of three months' duration, attended by 16 nominees from various Departments of the Government of India and the States.

The National Archives participated in the exhibition of relics and documentary material relating to the Rising of 1857 held at the National Museum, New Delhi, from 22 August to 15 September 1957. The original documents, photographs and maps displayed by it at the exhibition attracted great public interest. At the exhibition organised by the Lok Sabha Secretariat in March 1957, several documents depicting the history of the Indian Parliament were displayed.

The Bhopal Branch of the National Archives of India continued the programme of taking over the records from the erstwhile Central Records Office, Bhopal. About 762 bundles of records mostly pertaining to the Political Department were

brought over. The Office started preparing a *Hand-list of Mutiny Papers.*

Indian Historical Records Commission

The five-year term of the members of the Indian Historical Records Commission expired on 31 March 1957. The question of reconstitution of the Commission was taken up with the Government of India. Pending the reconstitution, no session could be held during the year under review.

The Secretary, Indian Historical Records Commission, was appointed a member of the Education Sub-Commission of the reconstituted Indian National Commission for cooperation with UNESCO for a fresh term of 3 years.

National Committee of Archivists

The sixth meeting of the National Committee of Archivists was held on 15-16 January 1957 at the National Archives of India, New Delhi, with Shri V. S. Suri, Keeper of Records, Punjab Government, in the chair. Technical problems relating to the preservation of archives once again figured prominently in the meeting. The result of experiments conducted by the National Archives of India on the use of Japanese tissue paper and chiffon with cellulose acetate foil and acetone for the repair of old documents and birch-bark manuscripts was placed before the members who evinced keen interest in the process. The Committee discussed the question of standardisation of indexing rules for the use of the archives repositories all over India. In view of the complexity of the problem, a sub-committee was set up with Dr. B. S. Baliga, Curator, Madras Record Office, as the chairman with Mr. V. S. Suri and Dr. P. M. Joshi as members, and Dr. B. A. Saletore as its convener to consider it in all its bearing. This sub-committee met at Madras Record Office on 22 July 1957. The chairman placed before the members some of the indexes prepared by the Madras Government and a set of indexing rules as given in the Madras Government Secretariat Manual. It was generally felt, however, that it would be impossible to lay down standardised subject headings which would be suitable for all records, and that the various Government departments and the Keepers of records should be left free to select their own subject headings according to their special requirements.

At the seventh meeting of the National Committee of Archivists which was held at the Madras Record Office on 23-24

July 1957 with Mr. R. C. Gupta, Acting Director of Archives, Government of India, in the chair, the question of the reconstitution of the National Committee of Archivists in view of the reorganisation of States, came up for consideration and it was decided that since Hyderabad and PEPSU had merged in Andhra and Punjab respectively, their separate membership should cease. Other important subjects discussed at the meeting were: control of white-ant menace in Record offices; humidity control in Record offices; air-conditioning of the muniment rooms of the National Archives of India; and binding of laminated documents.

Local Records Sub-Committee

The 15th meeting of the Local Records Sub-Committee, an adjunct of the Indian Historical Records Commission, was held on 22 January 1957 in New Delhi. Shri K. G. Saiyidain, Educational Adviser to the Government of India, the *ex-officio* Chairman of the Committee, presided. The members present were, Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad, Director, Inter-Services Historical Division, Ministry of Defence, Shri S. C. Bhatnagar, Ministry of Finance, Shri S. Srinivasan, Under Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs, Shri R. Rajaratnam, Assistant Estate Officer, and Dr. B. A. Saletore, Director of Archives, National Archives of India (Secretary).

The Committee took a serious view of the large number of records not returned for years by the various Ministries and Departments of the Government of India who had requisitioned them. As this could result in irretrievable losses, the National Archives was requested to press for their regular return and in the case of non-compliance, to make a reference to the O. & M. Officer of the defaulting Ministry or Department for urgent necessary action. The question of weeding of records next came up for discussion. In view of the fact that the Ministry of Education weeding rules and those incorporated in the Central Secretariat Manual of Office Procedure were at variance, a sub-committee consisting of a representative each of the O. & M. Directorate, the Ministry of Home Affairs, the Ministry of Law, and the Director of Archives, was formed to consider in detail the problem and make necessary recommendations for the consideration of the Government. Establishment of regional record depositories of the National Archives of India for the preservation of the non-current records of the Government of India produced by its agencies in the various parts of the country was agreed to in principle and it was suggested that a scheme to that

effect be worked out. Finally, in view of the unsatisfactory state of preservation of the non-current records of the Union territories, it was proposed that the jurisdiction of the Director of Archives should extend over their record rooms, to ensure proper care of records.

National Register of Records and Historical Manuscripts

The proposal to compile a National Register of Records incorporating in it the entire archival wealth of the country—public, semi-public, local, institutional, private etc., was recommended by the Research and Publication Committee as well as the Indian Historical Records Commission as early as March 1947. The proposal, though accepted by the Government of India, in principle could not be implemented due to financial reasons. But realising the imperative need of compiling such a register, the Government of India informed all the State Governments in May 1957 about its decision to confine the scheme for the present to records in private custody only and invited the co-operation of the State Regional Records Survey Committees and other local bodies already engaged in similar work. A beginning has been made by listing the documents acquired either by purchase or gift by the former *ad hoc* Regional Records Survey Committees, and the National Archives of India.

The Historical Records Bill, 1957

The Historical Records (of National Importance) Bill, 1957 was introduced in the Rajya Sabha by Dr. Raghubir Sinh. Some of its main features are: (i) the Director of Archives shall have the custody of all records that are, or may from time to time be declared by the Parliament to be of national importance. He will not only ensure their proper preservation but also make rules for their efficient management; (ii) the Director shall receive in his custody, the accumulating non-current records of the Government of India, and of the Parliament, any historical records that may be purchased or otherwise acquired by the Government of India for being preserved, and records belonging to any State or private owner, either deposited or gifted to the National Archives of India; (iii) the Director with the approval of the Indian Historical Records Commission should make rules respecting the disposal by destruction or otherwise of documents which are in his custody. No document older than the year 1818 A.D. can, however, be destroyed. He shall cause a schedule to be prepared of all the documents proposed to be

disposed of or returned, containing such particulars as to their character and content as may be necessary to enable the Houses of Parliament to judge of the expediency of the steps recommended.

Inter-University Board of India, Burma and Ceylon

The 33rd annual session of the Inter-University Board of India, Burma and Ceylon was held at Perideniya (Ceylon) in December 1957. A resolution moved by the National Archives of India and accepted by the Board was to the effect that " edited texts or calendars of unpublished manuscript records or documents, when accompanied by adequate introductions and critical apparatus should be given the same recognition as original dissertations on arts or science subjects and should be regarded as worthy of consideration for the award of a Doctorate degree". A similar resolution is expected to be placed before the next session of the Indian Historical Records Commission for their consideration.

Assam

Dr. S. K. Bhuyan, Director, and Dr. P. C. Choudhury, Deputy Director of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, Gauhati, have been appointed Chairman and *ex-officio* Secretary respectively of the Regional Records Survey Committee.

The plan of work along with financial implications drawn up by the Committee at its first meeting held on 21 December 1956 was sanctioned by the State Government in August 1957. Scholars of repute are expected to be deputed to the District and Sub-Divisional headquarters and other important places with a view to examine and acquire important records and manuscript collections on the spot. The Committee has recommended that such records should be temporarily deposited at the Office of the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies for examination and report before their final transmission to the Assam Secretariat Record Office for preservation.

The reconstituted Committee began its actual work from September 1957 when at a meeting on 17 September 1957, it drew up a detailed plan of survey work in the State. For the present the record offices at the district headquarters at Gauhati and Dhubri are to be examined.

Bombay

The work of weeding the records of ephemeral value was taken up in right earnest at the Secretariat Record Office,

Bombay. Over 200 files of the Political and Services Department, 230 files of the Home Department and 2,000 files of the Revenue Department, were received for appraisal and evaluation. After careful scrutiny, advice was given to the Departments concerned for preservation of the files considered worthy of permanent retention which would be deposited in the Record office eventually.

Apart from the usual accessions of non-current records of the Bombay Government during the year, microfilms of Indexes to the Bombay Military Department records available at the National Archives of India were acquired. Microfilm copies of records of Indian interest were also acquired from the India Office Library, London; Algemeen Rijksarchief, the Hague; Bodleian Library, Oxford; Lambeth Palace Library and Guildhall Library, London. These acquisitions include copies of some interesting 17th century water-colour paintings of towns and Dutch factories in Western India preserved in the Hague archives and two manuscript tracts in the Bodleian collection relating to arguments in favour of and against the import of Indian wares into England. Printing of the *Historical Genealogies* in Marathi compiled by Dr. G. S. Sardesai was completed.

Alienation Office, Poona

The important acquisitions of the Alienation Office, Poona, consist of three reels of microfilms of manuscripts of Saint Tukaram obtained from Pandharpur Samshodhan Mandal and some records dealing with medical subjects received from the Director of Local Authorities, Central Division, Poona.

Baroda Record Office

The work of shifting the Secretariat records of the erstwhile State to the main record room of the Baroda Record Office was continued. Further, 605 bundles of village records were brought from the Sarkarwada room.

Kolhapur Record Office

Eight *rumals* of Himmat Bahadur Jagir and 6 *rumals* of Sarlaskar were acquired from the Collector of Kolhapur in May 1956. These records date from 1798 to 1881 and pertain to village accounts.

State Board for Historical Records and Ancient Monuments.

Due to the reorganisation of the State of Bombay, the term of the State Board which expired on 20 February 1956, was extended by a period of one year.

The Standing Committee of the Board met on 6 August 1956 with Mahamahopadhyaya D. V. Potdar in the chair. It approved the publication programme of the Board which envisages publication of Persian sources of the Deccan medieval history such as *Tazkirat-ul-Muluk*, *Futuhat-i-Adilshahi*, a small book on the sources of medieval Deccan history (1300 to 1686 A.D.) with notes, annotations etc., and a Marathi edition of *Basatin-us-Salatin*.

The Board was reconstituted on 31 July 1957 with the Secretary to the Government of Bombay, Education Department, as *ex-officio* President and the Director of Archives and Historical Monuments as *ex-officio* Secretary.

The first meeting of the reconstituted Board was held in Bombay on 16 October 1957. Four Survey Committees, one each for manuscripts and records, for exploration, for monuments, and for epigraphy—were proposed to be constituted with outside experts co-opted on each Committee, their number not exceeding that of the members of the Board on the Committee concerned. Shri Kanole's proposal for publication of historical records in Marathwada area was sent for consideration to the new Standing Committee, consisting of Prof. D. V. Potdar, Dr. H. D. Sankalia, Dr. Moti Chandra, Dr. M. R. Majumdar, and Dr. P. M. Joshi.

Jammu and Kashmir

The Regional Records Survey Committee was able to locate several collections of ancient manuscripts and rare printed publications in Sanskrit, Sharda, Hindi, Arabic, Persian, Urdu, English and Kashmiri relating to varied subjects like history, religion, philosophy, grammar, art, medicine, military science, agriculture, etc. It has not been possible for the Committee to acquire any of these manuscripts due to shortage of funds.

The Committee was reconstituted with Mr. G. A. Mukhtar, Director of Education, as *ex-officio* Chairman and Mr. F. M. Husnain, Director of Records, as *ex-officio* Secretary.

Orissa

The term of membership of the non-official members of the Orissa Regional Records Survey Committee expired in January

1957 but it was extended till 31 March 1958. In the meantime, a proposal for the reconstitution of the Committee has been placed before the Government.

Punjab

In pursuance of the Punjab Government Record Office scheme of surveying the records at the district and divisional levels, 14 volumes of records of British Agencies in the Punjab pertaining to the period 1823-46 were acquired from the Deputy Commissioner's Office at Ludhiana. A large number of old and rare publications of historical interest was also acquired from the offices of the Deputy Commissioners of Gurdaspur and Ludhiana for the reference library attached to the State Record Office.

Bihar

The Bihar Regional Records Survey Committee continued with success its efforts to locate fresh material throwing light on the different aspects of the history of Bihar. In May 1957, Prof. S. H. Askari and Mr. Q. Ahmad visited Aurangabad (Gaya District), and examined a collection of manuscripts belonging to Maulvi Abdul Rauf of the local Government H. E. School. Some of these manuscripts describe the political condition of Bihar during the late 18th and 19th centuries. While at Aurangabad, they were informed that the neighbouring places like Deova, Danknagar, Amjhar, Amthna and Shamshernagar were rich in manuscript *farmans*, inscriptional stones, etc. The books and manuscript collections belonging to Mr. Munnu Khan and Shah Najmuddin Saheb of Bihar Sharif were also inspected. Several interesting manuscripts like *Dastur-ul-Insha, Insha-i-Madhu Ram* were found in the library of the former. There is also a very fine collection of *waslis* (calligraphy) of considerable antiquity and historical importance. Quite a few of the *waslis* are by Imad-al-Hasni, Nurullah and Ali Tabrezi, noted calligraphists of the Mughal period.

Kerala

The scope of the Regional Records Survey Committee of Travancore and Cochin constituted in 1951 expanded consequent upon the formation of the newly constituted State of Kerala in 1956. The work of collecting materials for the compilation of the history of the freedom movement was continued. The Committee submitted to the State Government detailed

proposals for undertaking a publication programme which includes: (i) Regional Bibliography, (ii) History of Freedom Movement, and (iii) a separate history of Kerala from the early period till the present day.

Rajasthan

The work of the Rajasthan Archives Department is being carried on through its 14 centres established throughout Rajasthan. The pre-1900 records taken over from the former repositories include *Farmans* and *Nishans*, 1622-1711, *Akhbarat*, 1666-1719, Vakils' reports, 1657-1719, *Kharitas*, 1750-1950, *Roznamcha*, 1675-1854, correspondence regarding Shivaji, 1665-1744, Pindaris' letters, etc. Several documents of great historical importance have been salvaged from Jaipur, Jodhpur, Indergarh and other places. Among these mention may be made of documents throwing light on the construction by Jai Singh of Jai Mahal, Red Fort and observatories, Persian documents in the shape of *farmans* of Ahmad Shah Durrani and Mughal Emperors and some 15 documents throwing light on the revenue administration of Akbar.

A Regional Records Survey Committee under the chairmanship of the Chief Minister, Government of Rajasthan, with the Director of Archives as the Secretary, has been formed in Rajasthan. As a result of the appeal issued by the Committee, Shri Sangram Singhji Mehta of Udaipur, a descendant of the renowned family of Musahib-i-alas of Mewar has generously offered to donate his family papers to the Committee. The papers range from 1806 to 1951 and contain copies of *pattas* and *parwanas* issued by the Maharana of Mewar from time to time. Besides, they also include *kharitas* of the various rulers of the former States addressed to the Maharanas of Mewar, reports of the *harkaras*, correspondence of European officers, especially of the renowned historian and diplomat Col. James Tod, and certain agreements concluded with *jagirdars*, *patels*, *patwaris*, etc.

Uttar Pradesh

The Central Record Office, Allahabad, was declared a permanent department of the U. P. Government with effect from 1 April 1956. The records of district and divisional offices continued to be accessioned in the office but due to shortage of storage space the programme had to be considerably curtailed.

The eleventh meeting of the U. P. Regional Records Survey Committee was held at the Central Record Office, Allahabad,

on 4 December 1956 with Dr. B. P. Saksena in the chair. The Committee deputed Dr. Saksena and Dr. A. L. Srivastava to visit Rewa for examining and evaluating certain records relating to Tantya Tope which were offered for sale by their owner, Faujdar Abdul Majid Khan.

Madras

The transfer of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library to the Madras Record Office, which had been kept in abeyance due to lack of space, was made possible during the year by the shifting of the office of the State Transport Authority from the building.

Fresh accessions of the Madras Record Office consist of the records of several Departments of the Secretariat for 1953. Besides, the proceedings of the Board of Revenue (Land Revenue and Settlement), the Court of Wards, the Chief Conservator of Forests and the Irrigation Development Board and Electoral Rolls for 1956, of 48 assembly constituencies were also received for custody.

Of the two volumes of the *Records of Fort St. George* series which had been made ready, printing of one is nearing completion and the other is in the press. The work of preparing District Handbooks in place of the old District Gazetteers was continued. The Tanjore District Handbook was issued in July 1957 and the Madurai District Handbook was under print. Manuscripts of South Arcot and Coimbatore District Handbooks were made ready. Further, it has been decided to reprint for the benefit of the general public the two volumes of *Studies in Madras Administration.*

The Madras Regional Records Survey Committee met twice during the year, once in March 1957 and again in August 1957. In an endeavour to enlist the cooperation of learned institutions Shri M. P. Periaswami Thooran, Chief Editor, *Tamil Valarchi Kazhagam* and Shri S. A. Govindarajan, President, South Indian Journalists Federation, were co-opted as members. The Government Epigraphist brought to the notice of the Committee the existence of a considerable volume of correspondence and notes left behind by his predecessors, mostly foreign scholars. It was suggested that the material be examined as it was likely to throw considerable light on the cultural history of the country.

A proposal to form District Committees to assist the Regional Committee in unearthing records and manuscripts was mooted at the meeting. The proposed District Committees are to include

the Collector of the district concerned as chairman and a few other members, including the member of the Regional Committee, if any, from the district concerned.

INTERNATIONAL

International Vocabulary of Archives

As a result of a resolution of the Second International Congress on Archives, an International Committee on Archival Terminology with representatives from France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Spain and the United Kingdom was set up in 1954. At its meeting held on 24 September 1956 at Florence, the Committee examined some drafts prepared by the countries represented on the Committee to standardise the utilization of technical words in each linguistic zone. The Vocabulary is expected to cover historical as well as modern administrative documents. To begin with, only the five languages of the Council will be included.

The International Committee adopted the following main groups in which the National Committees should arrange the various terms:

> (1) archival structure and general principles of arrangement; (2) types of documents: (a) physical aspect, (b) archival nature of documents; (3) technical operations; (4) preservation of archives (equipment and restoration); (5) working tools (archives in formation and already constituted); (6) use of archives and documentary reproduction.

Centre for Preservation of Cultural Property, Rome

An international centre under the auspices of UNESCO for the study of the preservation and restoration of cultural property is expected to be established at Rome shortly. Any UNESCO Member-State can become a member by contributing to its funds. Its functions will be: (a) to collect, study and circulate documentation concerning the scientific and technical problems of the preservation and restoration of cultural property; (b) to co-ordinate, stimulate or institute research in this domain, in particular, by means of commissions to bodies or experts, international meetings, publications and exchanges of specialists; (c) to give advice and make recommendations on general or specific points connected with the preservation and restoration of cultural property; (d) to assist in training research workers and technicians and in raising the standard of restoration work.

The centre will be situated in one of the buildings of the Istituto Centrale del Restauro and will have free access to archives and libraries of the specialized institutions in Rome whose work is related to cultural property.

UNESCO Mobile Microfilm Unit

The General Conference of UNESCO held in Montevideo in 1954, recommended the formation of a UNESCO free mobile microfilm unit for the use of Member-States. The unit consists of two microfilm cameras, one Microfrance and one Kodagraph, a Lumoprint developing, fixing and washing set of three baths, a Griscombe microfilm reader, an apparatus for drying lengths of films up to 30 meters, and numerous accessories.

The main object of the scheme is to give to all countries, and particularly those whose resources are limited, an opportunity of making microfilm copies of the most valuable papers, documents of great historical value, rare engravings, maps and drawings, etc., in their possession.

Conference on Classification for Information Retrieval

An International Study Conference on Classification was held jointly by the International Federation for Documentation, ASLIB, the University of London School of Librarianship and Archives and the Classification Research Group, London (which is composed of a few interested persons) near Dorking, England, from 13 to 17 May 1957. It was attended by 35 experts representing England, France, German Federal Republic, the Netherlands, the U.S.A. and India. Interesting discussions took place on techniques for constructing classification schedules for a subject; problems encountered in the construction of a general classification; the question of notation in the classified index and the role of classification in mechanical selection.

UNITED KINGDOM

Committee on Departmental Records

By the end of 1956, 55 departments appointed Departmental Record Officers to plan the introduction of the new procedure recommended by the Committee on Departmental Records, for reviewing their records and selecting documents for preservation in the Public Record Office.

The recommendations of the Committee concerning the administration of the Public Record Office and the general management of the Public Records are to be incorporated in a

new legislation to be entitled Public Records Act, 1958. With the passing of this act, the Public Record Office Acts, 1898 and 1938 shall cease to have effect.

Public Record Office, London

The storage space at the Ashridge Repository was increased in 1956 by the insertion of additional shelves in the existing racking. Further, 1,800 foot-run of records of the various departments were received for safe custody. An acquisition worth a special mention during the year was a parchment volume of 123 membranes relating to the account of the clerk of the works of the King's Palace and Mews at Westminster and at the Tower of London during the first four years of the reign of King Edward II (1307-11). It is of exceptional interest in that it provides a wealth of detail relating to the rebuilding of the Palace of Westminster after it had been devastated by fire in the previous reign.

The Record Publications, issued during 1956, were the Calendars of *Inquisitions Post Mortem, Henry VII,* vol. III ; *Close Rolls, Henry VII,* vol. I ; *Papal Registers,* vol. XIII (Parts I and II, 1471-84) ; *Treasury Books,* vol. XXVII (Parts I and II) and vol. XXVIII (Part I); and *Treaty Rolls* (1234-1325), vol. I.

Records Administration Division

Records Administration Division was constituted in accordance with the recommendation of the report of the Committee on Departmental Records. A staff of 4 Inspecting Officers under the Records Administration Officer was appointed to carry out the work of co-ordinating and supervising the arrangements by departments and other Government bodies for the new procedure, each Inspecting Officer being responsible for a group of departments.

As a result of the reorganisation of the Department, the management of the intermediate repositories at Hayes, Yeading and Leake Street was transferred to the Records Administration Division. By the end of the year 1956, the total foot-run of documents of the 33 participating Departments in the three repositories amounted to 5,93,500 feet, representing an increase of 21,500 feet.

Historical Manuscripts Commission

The Historical Manuscripts Commission met twice in July and in November 1956 at the Public Record Office, the Deputy Keeper of the Records being the Executive Commissioner.

The Commission continues to work through the National Register of Archives and arranges for the deposit of manuscripts in approved repositories. The *List of Accessions of the* National Register during 1956 contains details of accessions to 94 repositories, national and local.

A proposal was being considered to reconstitute the Historical Manuscripts Commission by introducing a clause in the Bill to recognise Public Record Office, which would give it impetus and prestige of statutory backing and enable it to continue, jointly with the British Records Association, its work on behalf of Private Archives.

British Records Association

The British Records Association completed twenty-five years of its existence in 1957. Its activities form part of the general movement of historical research during the past 25 years in England.

The Records Preservation Section of the British Records Association held the Annual General Meeting on 27 November 1956 with Sir Hilary Jenkinson in the chair. At the discussion meeting, *Theatrical Records* came up as a subject of interesting discussion. Great emphasis was placed on the need for publicity to convince theatre managements to preserve records of local theatre as otherwise it would result in a serious cultural loss to the nation.

The Records of Ecclesiastical Courts formed the topic of discussion at another meeting. The views expressed by various members centred round the powers of various courts, their procedure, and *the custody and care of their records.*

At yet another meeting, Sir Hilary Jenkinson opened the discussion on *the Cataloguing of Seals.* He drew the attention of the members to the existence of a large number of seals in almost all archives and the imperative need to repair, record and describe them in the interest of research. The value of seals as historical evidence was incontestable and their administrative significance self evident. According to him "the history of executive government in this country was largely the history of seals, and the discovery of a new seal could open a new chapter". In the discussion which followed, the principal points touched upon were the value of full description of seals, and the desirability of a uniform system of cataloguing.

The Annual General Meeting was presided over by the Master of the Rolls who spoke of the imminent retirement of Robert Somerville from the post of Honorary Secretary which he had held since 1947.

Anglo-American Conference of Historians

The sixth Anglo-American Conference of Historians was held at the Institute of Historical Research from 8 to 13 July 1957. Altogether 146 universities and other learned institutions nominated representatives. The total number of members was 758, including 169 from the United States of America and 31 from the Commonwealth countries. During the conference, 23 papers were read on early and medieval European, medieval English, modern European, modern British, Colonial, American, African and Asian history. The subjects of the three general meetings were "The bond of the Common Law", "Herodotus and the formation of modern Historiography" and " The role of the editor of historical documents in America".

Society of Indexers

At a meeting held at the headquarters of the National Book League, London, on 30 March 1957, a new Society of Indexers was founded with the following aims and objects: (a) to improve the standard of indexing and to secure some measure of uniformity in its technique ; (b) to maintain panels of indexers in all fields from which authors, editors, publishers and other interested bodies may be furnished with suitable names on application ; (c) to act as an advisory body on the qualification and remuneration of indexers ; (d) to communicate or publish from time to time, books, papers, and notes on the subject of indexing ; (e) to safeguard the interests of indexers.

The Society would look to the interests of all types of indexers including those concerned with unpublished material, geographical names, the central registries of large organizations, etc.

British Museum

The Trustees of the British Museum have decided to produce by means of photo-offset lithography, a complete edition of the British Museum Catalogue in 250-300 volumes within 5 or 6 years.

Notable deposits of manuscripts to the Museum arranged through the National Register of Archives were: the papers of

Spencer Perceval, Prime Minister (d. 1812), and papers of Colonel the Honourable George Napier (d. 1804), General Sir Charles James Napier, G.C.B. (d. 1853), and Sir George Thomas Napier (d. 1855).

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

National Archives and Records Service

The National Archives recorded an increase of almost 24,500 cubic feet of records worthy of permanent preservation during 1957. Another 2,360 cubic feet were transferred to Federal records centres while 3,500 cubic feet were disposed of. A record set of some 1,10,000 printed maps of the Army Map Service and its predecessors, 1917-56, were accessioned. It is one of the biggest collections in the world of large-scale topographic maps and cover all regions. Other important accessions included files of the Department of State, 1930-39 ; microfilm copies of seized documents of the German Foreign Ministry, 1887-1933 ; and records relating to the trials held before the International Military Tribunal for the Far East and the United States Military Tribunals at Nuremberg.

There was a slight fall in the holdings of the 10 regional federal records centres in 1957 due to increased disposals. Holdings at the end of the year amounted to 31,86,000 cubic feet.

A bulletin entitled *The Appraisal of Modern Public Records* was published. In order to publicise desirable records management practices and standards, *Agency Mail Operations* was made available to all agencies in 1957. *Territorial Papers of the United States,* vol. XXII, relating to Florida Territory was also published.

Franklin D. Roosevelt Library

The manuscript holdings of the library reached the total of 7,105 cubic feet. The photographic collection was augmented by the addition of 1,445 new photographs.

The library's two-volume documentary publication, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and Conservation, 1911-45,* made good progress. Another publication of note expected to be published shortly is a volume of *Franklin D. Roosevelt and Foreign Affairs, 1933-37.*

National Historical Publication Commission

A guide to the depositories of archives and manuscripts in the United States is being published by the National Historical

Publication Commission. It will provide information about the holdings of some 1,300 depositories throughout the country. Other publications included in its programme are James Madison's papers and papers of Andrew Johnson. The publication of *Writings on American History* for each year, was continued.

Library of Congress

Southern Asia Accessions List is a monthly record of publications pertaining to Southern Asia currently accessioned by the Library of Congress and cooperating libraries. The *List* includes selected articles from periodicals in western languages and periodicals in the major vernacular languages of South Asia and South-east Asia published since January 1954.

The Library has received substantial additions to the papers of Senator George W. Norris—about 20,000 pieces dating from about 1885. Other acquisitions during the year include some 1,200 papers from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, of the Cuban Educational Association of America; 75,000 papers of "Fighting Joe" Wheeler, confederate Army Officer and U.S. Congressman from Albama; about 15,000 papers of the late Chattanooga editor and author, George Fort Milton; papers of J. Franklin Jameson, the American historiographer, dating from 1867 to 1937 and some older material concerning attempts by British sugar planters and merchants in the West Indies to secure a revision of the Molasses Act, 1750-51.

ITALY

Riccardo Filangieri after 45 years of scholarly endeavour has retired from the post of Director of the Archivio di Stato at Naples and from the archival superintendency of Southern Italy.

CEYLON

As a result of a major administrative change the Department of archives was transferred from the Ministry of Education to the Ministry of Local Government and Cultural Affairs.

Fifty Bays of specially manufactured Roneo Library shelving obtained from England were installed in the Archives for the better stacking of the Tombos and similar records.

A plan to publish a National Bibliography which is to include books printed in the Island as well as those produced abroad and periodicals and magazine articles having a bearing on Ceylon, is being worked out.

PHOTODUPLICATION AND MICROCOPYING

Microfilm Camera

A new low cost microfilm-copying camera has recently been developed by A. Seidell and H. F. Flemer. It consists of a base and a metal column with a movable cross arm by which the camera is supported. The upright metal column is attached to the rear of the base and its cross arm may be set at four numbered positions corresponding to areas of 9″×12″ to 15″×22″ to be photographed. The camera may be easily removed and replaced on the front face of the cross arm, in which is fixed the electric motor which operates the camera. The cycle of operation is 3 seconds, which allows up to 20 exposures per minute. Developing is done in a Morse daylight tank which will take film up to 100 ft. in length. The entire apparatus can be supported on 2×3 ft. table.

Portable Microfilm Reader

Micro Methods Ltd., London, have produced a V.C. Microfilm Reader which occupies a little more space than a typewriter. The image is projected on to the desk and there is no translucent screen to try the eyes. Either 16-mm. or 35-mm. film, perforated or unperforated, can be used.

BOOK REVIEWS

Eighteen Fifty-Seven by Surendra Nath Sen (Calcutta, 1957; pp. xxv+466; price Rs. 7.50 or 15 sh. or $2 Library Edition and Rs. 5.50 or 10 sh. 6d. or $1.50 Popular Edition).

The Sepoy Mutiny & Revolt of 1857 by R. C. Majumdar (Calcutta, 1957, pp. xviii+289; price Rs. 15).

In commissioning Dr. Sen to write a history of the outbreak of 1857, the object of the Government of India was to obtain a true and objective history of the struggle, not 'a partisan interpretation of the events'. This object has been most admirably fulfilled. Dr. Sen has written neither from the British nor the Indian point of view, but as a dispassionate historian. He has treated a highly controversial subject with cool detachment and given us a remarkably fair and unprejudiced account of 'Eighteen fifty-seven'. Dr. Majumdar's volume, though more polemical, is no less objective. Both books are fine examples of modern Indian scholarship.

Dr. Sen claims to have offered his readers only a 'review' of the struggle. This is rather a modest description of a book which does in fact give a fairly full account of the whole uprising. The causes both of the mutiny itself and of the popular outbreaks which followed it in parts of the country are explained quite fully and very ably, and there then follow detailed—perhaps in places too detailed—narratives of the events in the various centres of disturbance. Dr. Sen assumes that his readers will be already familiar with the main events and on this assumption deals separately from start to finish with the happenings in each of the principal theatres, e.g., Delhi, Kanpur, Oudh, Jhansi, the Punjab, etc. A reader for whom the assumption does not hold good may find that this mode of treatment makes it somewhat difficult to grasp the temporal and causal relationships between events in one area and those elsewhere. Thus chapter three gives an account of events in Delhi from the original outbreak on May 11th down to its recapture by the British and the surrender of Bahadur Shah in the following September. But it is not till chapter eight, 200 pages later, that the reader hears of the contemporary events in nearby Aligarh, Agra and Rohilkhand, and not till chapter nine that he is told of the prompt disarming of the Purbiah troops in the Punjab which enabled the British to recover Delhi with a force drawn

from and based upon that Province. Meanwhile, he has travelled in space to Kanpur, Lucknow, Bihar and back to Jhansi, Central India and Rajputana, and in time to June 1858 or even later.

The narrative is at times graphic and enthralling. The account of events in Delhi makes particularly good reading and is well-proportioned. On the other hand, too much space is given to the siege of Lucknow and to the experiences and feelings of individual Britishers waiting, almost despairingly, for relief.

Dr. Majumdar's volume is really a series of essays on various aspects of the mutiny and revolt of 1857 rather than a comprehensive history of the outbreak. A brief general outline of the main events is supplied—owing to the necessary compression of a complicated story into a short compass, this is the least readable part of the book—but most of it is devoted to discussion of the causes and character of the outbreak, the part played by the various "heroes", the atrocities committed by either side, the causes of failure and similar topics. Dr. Majumdar has written on these matters in a forthright and cogent manner and has effectively shattered the romantic idealisation of Bahadur Shah and Co. into heroes of a First War of Independence. His conclusions are much the same as those of Dr. Sen, but he has argued them in more detail. Both of them agree that there was no organised conspiracy either among the sepoys or among political leaders. They also agree that the outbreak was at first a purely military one and that it was not till some time later that the spirit of revolt showed itself among the civil population. Dr. Sen considers that "outside Oudh and Shahabad there is no evidence of that general sympathy which would invest the Mutiny with the dignity of a national war", while Dr. Majumdar asserts that the outbreak should be regarded "not as the first phase of the war of independence but as the last phase of India under Free Lances that existed since the fall of the Mughal power". "The miseries and bloodshed of 1857-58", he writes "were not the birth pang of a freedom movement in India but the dying groans of an obsolete aristocracy and centrifugal feudalism of the mediaeval age". Dr. Sen puts the same thing in different words. "The Mutiny leaders would have set the clock back, they would have done away with the new reforms, with the new order, and gone back to the good old days when a commoner could not expect equal justice with the noble, when the tenants were at the mercy of the talukdars, and when theft was punished with mutilation. In short, they

wanted a counter-revolution'". It will be seen from these quotations that both of them take the orthodox view of the uprising which has been adopted by the majority of modern writers. Dr. Sen has, however, rightly pointed out that the rebels undoubtedly wanted to get rid of the alien Government and restore the old order of which the King of Delhi was the rightful representative and to this extent what began as a fight for religion ended as a wár of independence. Though the conception of Indian nationality was yet in embryo, the unity of a common bondage had given the people of India a vague sense that in spite of racial, religious and linguistic difference, they had something in common as against the Englishmen.

Dr. Sen admits that most of the leaders of the movement were actuated by purely personal motives rather than by patriotism and this point is forcibly driven home by Dr. Majumdar who gives an excellent account of the parts played by the most prominent of the individual leaders. Though several of them showed at times heroic qualities, only Maulavi Ahmadullah Shah and perhaps Shahzada Firoz Shah can be regarded as true patriots. Certainly the former had no personal interest to serve and even before the sepoys mutinied had given evidence of his uncompromising hostility to the British. Though his patriotism had a distinctly Islamic colour and could not be exactly equated with patriotism today, there is no doubt that he was animated from the start by a sincere determination to drive the English infidels from the country.

The other leaders were all opportunists who took advantage of the apparent breakdown of British authority to further their own personal interests. Most of them had been in close and friendly contact with British officials right up to the eve of the sepoys' mutiny and their subsequent conduct was not free from the taint of bad faith. Bahadur Shah, the Nana Sahib and probably also the Rani of Jhansi, originally threw in their lot with the sepoys not wholly of their own free choice, but under some measure of compulsion. All three made obvious attempts to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds. They can hardly be claimed as patriots. Even of the Rani of Jhansi, who showed some nobility of character and on the available evidence cannot be justly charged with the crimes which the British were inclined to attribute to her, Dr. Majumdar has written—very correctly—" nothing can be more erroneous than to associate her name with a struggle for independence, either of Jhansi or of India"

Among the "heroes", but 'relegated to the last in the list', Dr. Majumdar has included the sepoys themselves. The few pages in which he reviews the part which they played are first rate, but not very complimentary to them. He points out that not a single leader of any note was thrown up from their ranks and ends by observing as a very significant fact 'that all the contemporary accounts by the Indians represent the actual sepoys as very different from the idealised picture of brave patriots fighting for their country's freedom which has been drawn by misplaced sentiments of a later age'.

The outbreak of 1857 is a memorable episode in Indian history and will continue to excite the interest of both Indians and Englishmen for many years to come. It is, however, an episode in which neither Englishmen nor Indians can take much pride. In the main the story is one of deplorable bungling, bad faith and inhumanity on both sides. Dr. Majumdar has drawn attention to the absence of any noble ideal or inspiration behind the movement. The lofty sentiments of patriotism and nationalism with which the sepoys and the political leaders are some times credited had little, if any, basis in fact. As Dr. Majumdar points out, "such ideas were not yet familiar to Indian minds". The absence of noble inspiration was no doubt one of the reasons for the failure of the outbreak. The British on the other hand "were inspired by the patriotic zeal for retaining their empire and profoundly moved by the spirit of revenge against the Indians who had murdered their women and children. The detailed accounts of the victories of British troops against enormous odds and their readiness to put up with incredible hardships and sufferings, fully bear out their strength of resolve, fine sense of fellow-feeling and a patriotic urge to do their best to save the honour of their country. It is true that we do not possess any similar accounts of the Indian side, and comparison is therefore unjust, but the facts known so far certainly are not in favour of crediting the Indians with similar virtues".

A spirit of revenge is not a very commendable motive force. Patriotic zeal has a higher value and British patriotism was at this time reinforced in many instances by strong religious feeling. The evangelical ferment which stirred British life in the first half of the 19th century was not without effect on some of the British who came to India, and while this may have been one of the causes of the mutiny, by giving the impression that the English intended to christianise the whole country, it was certainly a powerful factor in its suppression. Many Englishmen

sincerely believed that they had a divine mission in India and that Providence watched over them in their struggle against seemingly overwhelming odds. This spirit can be seen at its best in Havelock, at its worst in Neill. To a more sceptical age belief in a divine mission may appear to be as irrational as the sepoys' superstitions, but in practice it could far more effectively than they—

> "Deliberate valour breathe, firm and unmoved
> With dread of death to flight or foul retreat"

Dr. Sen and Dr. Majumdar in writing on this controversial subject have attained a high level of objectivity despite all the seductions of nationalist mythology. In his preface Dr. Majumdar has given an amusing account of his encounter with a certain politician whose idea of how to write history was nothing more nor less than to collect—or, if necessary, manufacture—only such facts as would support his own point of view. Dr. Sen, on the other hand, has testified to the liberal attitude of the Government of India who conceded him complete freedom to state his conclusions fully and frankly without any fear of official interference. This is all the more notable in that his conclusions are perhaps hardly in consonance with the views generally held by political party which holds the reins of Government. It is regrettable, therefore, that the sober well-balanced Foreword which Maulana A. K. Azad has contributed to Dr. Sen's volume should contain one rather noticeable departure from facts in deference to a preconceived theory. The Maulana writes that during the whole of the mutiny there was not "a single instance where there was a clash or conflict on a communal basis" and goes on to draw from this premise the scarcely legitimate inference that "before the days of British rule there was no such thing as the Hindu-Muslim problem in India". The premise itself, however, cannot be squared with certain facts regarding communal tension and conflict during the mutiny set forth by Dr. Majumdar to some of which Dr. Sen also alludes. In Delhi, even when its siege by the British was imminent, communal relations were strained, and communal conflict led to ugly disturbances in Bareilly, Bijnor and other parts of Rohilkhand. It may also be noted that the Sikhs as a whole actively sided with the British and opposed a movement which appeared to aim at the restoration of Muslim rule.

In support of his view of unbroken Hindu-Muslim unanimity, the Maulana cites the fact that the first cry of the mutineers at Meerut was 'March to Delhi'. This, he says, "was not the

result of debates or discussion but the spontaneous reaction of the common soldier". On page 63 of his book, Dr. Sen gives a distinctly different account of the matter.

The British, no doubt, exploited Hindu-Muslim divisions, but they did not create them; and it is, to say the least, doubtful whether even the most far-sighted statesmanship could have permanently united all Hindus and Muslims of the country into a single polity under British form of democracy. It is of some significance that Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, who was the first to proclaim the impossibility of Hindus and Muslims sharing the throne which the British would one day vacate, had experienced during the mutiny in his own person at Bijnor the Hindu-Muslim dissensions which resulted from a temporary Swaraj. These experiences perhaps contributed to his becoming, not an apostle of Hindu-Muslim amity, but the earliest prophet of Pakistan.

PENDEREL MOON

The Viceroyalty of Lord Irwin, 1926-1931 by S. Gopal (Oxford, 1957, pp. 152; price 21s).

"The Viceroyalty of Lord Irwin," by Dr. S. Gopal, is a remarkable work by one of our gifted historians. The author has already established his mark in historical writing by his work on the "Permanent Settlement of Bengal" and an excellent study on "the Viceroyalty of Lord Ripon", published like the present work, by the Oxford University Press. In a sense, the present work on Lord Irwin's period of office is a culmination of Dr. Gopal's earlier researches which gave him an unusual insight into the character of British rule in India, its mistakes and drawbacks as well as the generous impulses and enlightened policies which influenced the course of events and went into the making of one of the most significant impacts between peoples, cultures and diverse systems of social organization.

The five years from 1926 to 1931, during which Edward Wood, first Baron Irwin of Kirby-under-Dale in the County of York, served as Viceroy of India, were a fateful time in the evolution of Indo-British relations. From the narrow standpoint of government and administration, the Viceroyalty of Lord Irwin is a fascinating period for the study of events and policies which developed out of the immediate past and determined the future setting of the most unusual and dramatic settlement of the political problem between Great Britain and India. From the wider angle of human history, with its profound interactions and conflicts in the realm of ideas and beliefs, this brief period

illustrated the fundamental clash between East and West, revealing at the same time the methods and forces which pointed towards a deeper reconciliation and synthesis. Both these aspects, the surface of events which appeared to move with their own logic and limitation, and the deeper forces which offered fateful choices to leaders and statesmen, are vividly brought out in Dr. Gopal's study, which is really a brilliant essay in historical thinking about recent events, forces and personalities, the memory of which is still so fresh in our minds.

Barely a quarter of a century lies between the present moment and the time of Lord Irwin's leaving the shores of India after completing his tenure of office as the King-Emperor's representative and the *de facto* ruler of the Indian Empire of Great Britain. Yet the change in this short span of time has been so great and the scene of life so radically transformed, that it has been possible for Dr. Gopal to write his history with that calm reflection and cool detachment which are seldom manifested by those who write about recent times. This has also been possible because of the way in which the great change in the relationship between India and Great Britain was effected.

When Lord Irwin took his appointment as Viceroy, somewhat reluctantly, in 1926, it was still the old world of the aftermath of the First World War. The War had caused many eruptions and new revolutionary forces had been released in Europe and in Asia. But the extent and the strength of these changes were still unknown and among the victors there was a natural desire to restore and re-establish the old order. The Imperial Powers of the Western World tightened their grip on their colonial empires in Asia and Africa and British rule in India was no exception to this trend. The Khilaft agitation, the non-co-operation movement and the terrorist activities against foreign rulers troubled the government and the feeling of nationalism was clearly becoming more widespread among the Indian people. But there was no serious danger of a violent upheaval and the British Power was confident of its strength in India. The governmental machinery was loyal and efficient and the army could be completely relied upon. The animosity between the Hindus and the Muslims appeared to be stronger than national opposition to foreign rule. The rural country-side was neither politically conscious nor literate, and feudal conditions prevailed in the princely states ruled by autocrats.

By the time Lord Irwin completed his term of office, great changes had taken place and the country had advanced far

beyond the post-war stage in regard to political consciousness and nationalism. Within the range of a short volume of no more than 140 pages, Dr. Gopal has described the highlights of Lord Irwin's Viceroyalty with a remarkable economy of words and obvious mastery of detail. The seven chapters of the book read like the acts of a play which sustains our interest by the unity of its theme and the breadth of its treatment. The actors in the drama and the significant incidents are brilliantly assessed and the selection of material shows the author's complete familiarity with the primary sources of evidence and with the historian's craft at its best. The sense of perspective and the selection of material deserve particular mention.

The central theme of the drama of Lord Irwin's Viceroyalty is Mahatma Gandhi's Civil Disobedience Movement and the Viceroy's reaction and response to this novel challenge to authority. To this fascinating struggle, the author relates very successfully other important aspects of the Viceroyalty, such as communal disharmony, working of parliamentary institutions, efforts at constitutional reforms, the political consciousness of the educated middle class, the awakening of the peasantry and the politics of the princely states. The description and appraisal of the Civil Disobedience campaign, culminating in Gandhi's defiance of the Salt Laws and the famous march through his homeland of Gujerat to the sea beach at Dundi, are done in a masterly fashion. This picturesque event baffles the Government of India and its true significance is not easily realized by the Viceroy and his civil servants who ruled over the country. The scene at Dandi sent a thrill of elation among all nationalists in the country and its effect on world opinion was impressive.

Dr. Gopal's work on the Viceroyalty of Lord Irwin leaves on the reader's mind a keen consciousness of the fundamental battle of principles between India and Britain, as embodied in the powerful personalities of Mahatma Gandhi and Lord Irwin. To Gandhi, British rule in India was the personification of brute force and the Government wielding this force was evil and satanic ; but the Mahatma had strong faith in the character and traditions of the British people and, therefore, believed that the struggle could be resolved on the moral and ethical plane, and through non-violent means. Lord Irwin believed in the civilizing mission of Britain and the duty which the rulers owed to the ruled ; he respected the desire for freedom and the sentiment of nationalism among Indians, but did not understand the true character of Gandhi's movement and the Mahatma himself was

at first an enigma to him. The practical difficulties in the way of self-government at an early date seemed very real to the Viceroy and were magnified by British civilians in India and by the Conservative Party at Westminster. The communal disunity, the problem of the princely states, and considerations of military defence loomed large in the arguments of those who opposed the nationalist claim for immediate fulfilment of the goal of self-government.

On the timing of the grant of self-determination to India and the details of political and constitutional settlement, controversy continued to rage, and the endless debate between the two parties proved sterile; but in the realm of fundamental values and the approach to the solution of the Indo-British problem, Irwin's Viceroyalty proved to be decisive and could be viewed as the harbinger of the historic settlement to be consummated in 1947. When the 'naked fakir' who talked sedition according to the wooden bureaucrats at Delhi and at Whitehall sipped tea with the Viceroy in a frank exchange of ideas, it signified that both adversaries had recognized the overriding value of reason, right, and goodwill in bringing about the fulfilment of freedom and democracy—in which both sides believed fundamentally and intensely. Much water had to flow down the course of history in India, in Britain and in the world at large before Indian independence became a reality, but the fundamental meeting of minds and hearts had already taken place in the time of Lord Irwin and the rest followed as a matter of course.

The Viceroy touched the roots of the problem when he wrote as follows to a friend in May 1926:

> "I am always racking my brain as to how to get out of this futile and vicious circle by which we say, no advance without cooperation, and they say no cooperation without advance. I cannot help feeling that it is a question much more psychological than political. One of the extreme Swaraj people said to me the other day that if only they could trust us it wouldn't matter to them whether they waited five or fifty years. How then to make them believe that we mean what we say?"

Three years later Lord Irwin could answer his question as follows during the course of an address to the Legislative Assembly:

> "If there are Indians who are tempted to mistrust Great Britain, there are no doubt many in Great Britain, resentful of what they well know to be an unfounded and ungenerous

accusation, who may mistrust some of those who speak for India. But if we are thus tempted in the twentieth century, I know that both India and Great Britain will be judged in the twenty-first by the degree to which they have refused to lose faith in one another."

The need for trust and faith in each other was recognized by the Mahatma and the Viceroy, and the way this basic agreement was achieved is the burden of Dr. Gopal's excellent work. No student of modern Indian history and politics can afford to neglect this book, and we hope that the author will follow up this book by a more comprehensive work on Indian history during the period of the British connection. Dr. Gopal is eminently fitted to undertake such a task.

PREM KIRPAL

Civil Rebellion in the Indian Mutinies 1857-1859 by S. B. Chaudhury (Calcutta, 1957; pp. xxiii+367; price Rs. 15 or 20s.).

The school text-books that we learnt in our younger days taught us that the disturbances which took place in 1857 were only an ill-advised and shortlived mutiny confined almost entirely to the sepoys of the Indian Army. The revolt, we were told, was the result of a stupid misunderstanding about some new cartridges which had been issued out to the sepoys. False rumours were spread that the cartridges were greased with fat, extracted from the flesh of cows and pigs, and as before firing, the top of the cartridge had to be ripped away by teeth, the use of the new ammunition was against the religious tenets of both Hindus and Muslims. The history books went on to say that the cartridges were quickly withdrawn, and the mutiny was soon put down.

Even some contemporary accounts supported this version and, in particular, William Muir, Secretary to the Government of North-West Provinces, firmly asserted that the revolt of 1857 was nothing more than a mutiny of troops. Later, Holmes, who wrote a history of the Sepoy Mutiny, expressed the same view. This was the picture presented to all school children. It was not a true picture, but the British rulers could not afford to tell the truth and hand out to growing minds information which might act as a germ of discontent and potential rebellion by reminding them of past events. How could they tell young and impressionable Indians that their ancestors had rebelled against the foreign yoke and made a country-wide move to shake it off,

without running the risk that the truth, if told in this manner, might incite their subjects to repeat history with perhaps greater success?

But this state of affairs could not persist for ever. Contemporary accounts of what had taken place in the terrible period 1857-59 were available in official records and documents, prepared by British civil officers who had held charge of the district civil administration during the relevant time. The curious who studied these records began to talk. One of the first to publish an unorthodox account of the mutiny was Edward Thompson, who in his *The Other Side of the Medal*, spoke of the atrocities committed by the British during the so-called mutiny. His book showed that the horrible cruelties which had hitherto been attributed to Indians alone were more than matched by the reprisals perpetrated by the British. Further researches revealed a state of affairs which was quite different to what we had been taught in the history books. It came out that the reprisals had not only been bitter but very extensive. The counter-measures continued after the mutiny or the rebellion, as it now began to be called, had been completely quelled. Bitterness remained on both sides. Those who had helped the British received large awards. During the rebellion itself the Indians had displayed a determination to tear the English out of the land, destroy everything that would remind them of their British rulers. Telegraph posts were dug out, police stations and tahsil buildings were burnt down. Railway lines were ripped off the track. Railway engines were battered and destroyed. Even milestones were defaced. Europeans were massacred at various places and these massacres were witnessed by large crowds of people. No wonder the British determined to strike terror into those who had rebelled against them, and the counter-measures consisted of burning down of whole tracts of inhabited country-side, wholesale burning of villages, and revenge was carried to the extent of extermination in some cases. There was wholesale emigration of Indians and nearly a lac of them went out to Mauritius.

During the rebellion itself there were countless instances of courage and selfless spirit displayed by the rebels. They did not crave for their life. Villagers refused to betray the rebel leaders. British punitive forces were misled. One officer reported that there were spies everywhere. He said:

"As with the detectives of Vidocq, there were spies in the market-place, at the festival, in the places of worship, in

the gaols, in the hospitals, in the regimental bazars, among the casual knot of gossipers, among the bathers at the tanks, among the village circle round the well, under the big tree, among the stone breakers of the high-ways".

There was no doubt at all that the disturbance was not confined to the army, and the civil population took it up very quickly. The financial position of the East India Company became desperate. The value of public securities fell. Indians ceased to give credit to Europeans. Money was withdrawn from banks, education stopped and civil administration came to a standstill. In many districts a rebel government was set up and this worked efficiently. The Rani of Jhansi, for instance, proved to be a most efficient ruler. The truth is that the civil rebellion was a challenge to the British system of law and revenue, and this challenge was met by the entire Indian people. Indeed, the British came within an age of losing India. One of the most surprising features of the rebellion was that low caste people displayed the most marked hostility towards the British, although they had always been pampered by the Government.

It was essential that an authoritative and detailed history of the rebellion should be available to the layman as well as the student of history. Dr. S. B. Chaudhuri, the author of *Civil Disturbances during the British Rule in India* (*1765-1857*), has provided such an account in his book *Civil Rebellion in the Indian Mutinies* (*1857-1859*). The work is based almost entirely on information gleaned from "Government records, the 'Narratives' of British Civil Officers who held charge of districts in those fateful years, the voluminous records of British legislation, the Parliamentary Papers, the string of reports, minutes, despatches and memoranda", etc. As the author very aptly remarks in his preface, the limitation with regard to sources which he imposed upon himself adds to the value of the book, because the British officers would not be guilty of overstatement as regards the nature and the extent of the rebellion. The author after giving the general historical background of the rebellion has narrated the events of the rebellion in a number of chapters each of which deals with a particular area. The most important of these is chapter II, dealing with "Upper India" where the rebellion was more violent and more widespread than in the other parts of India. It was here that the true nature of the rebellion was seen to be a civil revolt against the Government rather than a mutiny of the Indian Army. It

is no doubt true that the ball was set rolling by the army, but the cue was quickly taken up by the civil population, and a determined effort was made to oust the British rule and revert to the government of the erstwhile kings and rulers. There is no doubt that this was not an attempt to bring democratic government to the people of India. The leaders were the old rulers who had been ousted by the British and who wanted to come back into their own once again, but they had the backing of their old subjects.

"In Lucknow it was the war of the people of all classes. They fought from street to street, from house to house, and the work of destruction and butchery went on for several days till Lucknow was finally conquered on 21st March."

The general conclusion of the author is stated in his sixth chapter "Theories on the Indian Mutiny"

"That the sepoys struck the first blow is not denied, that their grievances flowed independently of any external pressure and originated from the conditions of the existing military service also appear quite probable. But their apprehensions and fears about the intentions of the British to destroy their caste and religion were exactly those which troubled the minds of the civil population and the feudal aristocracy as well. This connects the two aspects of the revolt in the historical process. When the sepoys had created the field and attained a certain measure of success, sections of the aristocracy and certain civil elements put themselves at the head of the movement, with the result that the military complexion of the insurrection was changed."

The book will be read with interest by students of history as well as laymen. It contains a great deal of information, and to say that, at times, it makes difficult reading is not to understate its merits. One is naturally reminded of Louis Madelin's *French Revolution* when reading a book of this type. Madelin's book is so full of human interest that it grips the attention like a detective story. Dr. Chaudhuri's book reminds one of a thesis written for the degree of Doctorate.

The book contains an appendix, giving some of the material upon which the text is based, a full bibliography and an adequate index.

G. D. KHOSLA

Bibliography of Mauritius, 1502-1954 by A. Toussaint, Chief Archivist of Mauritius (Port Louis, Mauritius, 1956; pp. xvii+884).

The dream of the Mauritius Archives to publish a comprehensive bibliography of every relevant material—printed, manuscript and cartographic—with particular leaning for historical needs, has become a reality with the publication of this volume which runs into over 900 pages of closely printed matter. It covers not only the island of Mauritius but also its dependencies which include Rodrigues and the Oil Islands from 1502 to the end of 1954, whether available in Mauritius itself or in other countries.

The scope of the volume has been considerably widened by including in it not only the printed matter but also the 'Archivalia' and cartographic material which do not normally form part of the bibliographies of the usual type. This has made the bibliography a regular manual of documentation and a standard guide for the whereabouts of primary and secondary sources of material for the research scholars.

In its chequered political career, Mauritius, "The Star and Key of the Indian Ocean", has changed hands thrice. It was held successively by the Dutch from 1638 to 1710, by the French from 1715 to 1810 and by the British from 1810 to the present day. The paper accumulations of its long and fascinating history, particularly from 1721 onwards, which are now with its present administrators have been faithfully recorded in the bibliography. Further, there seems to be a great deal more of its history available in other countries—France and Great Britain for the 18th century and the Netherlands, South Africa and Indonesia for the 17th century. This explains why the archives and books relating to different periods are listed in different languages depending on who ruled the country then.

The extensive coverage of the bibliography has obliged the compilers to divide the material under the following six convenient groups or sections:

(a) Early imprints and private publications issued in Mauritius from the introduction of printing in 1768 down to the end of 1954;
(b) Periodicals, newspapers and serials issued in Mauritius from 1773 to 1954;
(c) Government and semi-official publications issued in Mauritius and Great Britain from the beginning of British rule in 1810 to 1954;

(d) Publications relative to Mauritius issued abroad in English, French, Dutch and other languages from 1600 to 1954;

(e) Manuscripts and archivalia of Mauritian interest available in Mauritius and in other countries from 1598 to 1954;

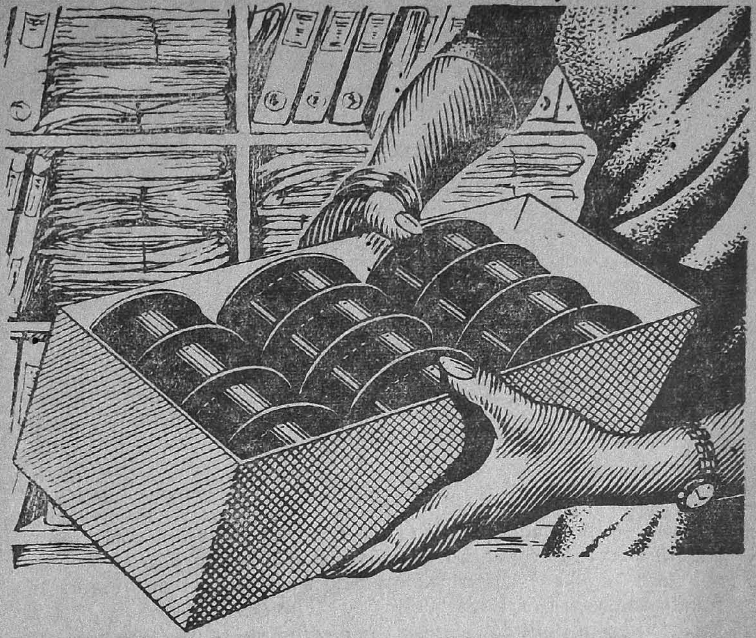
(f) Cartographic material from 1502 to 1954 including general and regional maps and plans of Mauritius and its dependencies; nautical charts of the South West Indian Ocean and early world maps showing the Mascarene Islands.

A word about the arrangement of entries in each group. The 8,865 entries are serially numbered in separate sequences of each group and follow either a chronological or an alphabetical order depending on the ease with which they could be arranged thus.

The book ends with a very useful index without which it would have been impossible to derive optimum advantage.

The hope of the compilers that the reference medium offered in the shape of the first standard bibliography may stimulate students in Mauritius and abroad to produce works of genuine scholarship on the many facets of Mauritian history, life and industry, etc., is not expected to remain unfulfilled for long.

DHAN KESWANI



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The letters to and from the Court of Directors in this volume roughly cover five years from 1796 to 1800. The period includes the last two years of Sir John Shore's administration and the first three years of Lord Wellesley's Governor-Generalship. To the student of political history the closing years of the eighteenth century are of unusual interest, but political events do not form the subject-matter of the letters reproduced here as this correspondence belongs to the public series of the Home Department. Though passing references to political happenings are occasionally made, these letters are mainly concerned with the trade and commerce of the East India Company, management of the Company's business in distant centres like Basra and Fort Marlborough, means of collecting information about the history, topography and literature of the country, and details about the Company's administration.

There are also references to measures for the spiritual welfare of the people, indicating that the Company was not indifferent to its task of moral uplift of Englishmen abroad, including its own servants.

The Editor has made a very useful survey of events in the introduction. The notes make the understanding of the text easily intelligible while the bibliography provides a list of further readings on the period. The volume has several well chosen illustrations and an exhaustive index.

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CALENDAR OF PERSIAN CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. X, 1792-93

EDITED BY

K. D. BHARGAVA, M.A.

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This volume, published by the National Archives of India, New Delhi in 1959, is number X in the series entitled *Calendar of Persian Correspondence.* It embodies English summaries of 2,002 Persian letters that passed between the Governor General, Residents and other agents of the East India Company on the one hand, and the Mughal Emperor Shah Alam II and other Indian rulers, chiefs and notables on the other during the period 1792-93 A.D. It thus covers the last two eventful years of the administration of Lord Cornwallis which among other events witnessed termination of the Third Anglo-Mysore War, reduction of some of the Rajput States by Mahadji Sindhia and subordination of the Rajas of Travancore and Tanjore and also of the Nawab of Arcot.

The correspondence contained in the volume unfolds one of the most dramatic and interesting chapters of British Indian history and vividly reveals that the Indian scene at the time was dominated by political unrest, economic exploitation and social disorder. In the south, though war with Tipu Sultan had ended with the treaty of Seringapatam, bickerings on the interpretation of its terms continued. Tipu was friendly to the English, but the controversy over Kurnool marred his relations with the Nizam. In order to make up for the deficiency caused in the Company's finances due to the war with Tipu, the English assumed the administration of the Carnatic, much against the wishes of Nawab Muhammad Ali Walajah.

In northern India, the decrepit Mughal Empire was in its last throes, the political scene being dominated by Mahadji Sindhia.

The correspondence also affords evidence that the East India Company tried to maintain cordial relations with neighbouring

states and foreign countries, noteworthy among them being Pegu, Nepal, Bhutan, Assam, Afghanistan, Muscat and Trengganu.

Apart from acquiring political predominance in India the East India Company continued to establish its trade and commerce. Pepper was obtained from Travancore and exported from the Anjengo Port. Ready-made indigo was purchased for the Company's investment. Trade in saltpetre was brisk. Salt was manufactured at Arcot and Jalamuta. Commodities like rice, pepper and sugar were exported to Muscat, etc.

The letters also reveal that bankers had their established firms in all important places of the country. In order to relieve the ryots from undue exploitation of the *mahajans* and money-lenders, Lord Cornwallis issued his famous proclamation announcing the permanency of the land settlement in Bengal.

The correspondence also affords interesting glimpses of some of the social customs prevalent during the period. It reveals that the Nawabs and Rajas led lazy, luxurious and incontinent lives and had large establishments of servants. We further learn that harmonious relations existed between the Hindus and the Muslims, who held responsible positions under the Indian rulers and chiefs.

The volume contains an informative and scholarly introduction, besides notes, bibliography and index which considerably add to the value of the publication.

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